America Drafts a Peace Plan *by Bruce Minton*

FIFTEEN CENTS

September 10, 1940

NEW MASSES

DEFENSE, INC.

The New du Pont Trust and Its Interlocking Directorates with the Nazis and the British

AN EXPOSE BY JULIAN WEBB

We Do Not Choose Death

An Editorial

Mr. Lippmann: Penthouse Pundit

by Barbara Giles

"School Days" A cartoon by William Gropper

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Between Ourselves

LAST May Eli Jaffe wrote from the bottom of the Dust Bowl to the readers of NM. You probably recall his excellent piece, "The Farms Blow Away." Young Jaffe is an Oklahoman who for years has been fighting the battle of the impoverished dirt farmer. That is why he is writing to NM this week from a cell in Oklahoma County Jail. How he was imprisoned, in company with many other progressives, is told in his own words: "In 1917 Oklahoma's grass roots stirred widely under the impact of strong anti-war winds. The Green Corn rebellion marked the upsurge of thousands of dirt farmers who resisted the 1917 parallel of the Burke-Wadsworth bill. In that year Oklahoma's warmongers jammed through a criminal syndicalism bill. Last week the reactionary top-cats of the American Legion, paced by the press and anti-labor forces headed by Gov. Leon C. Phillips, formed an emergency defense battalion of two thousand tough babies. Extra guards were placed at the city's waterworks. Sheriff Goff organized a cavalcade of 'horse marines' to patrol oil pipe lines. Chattering against the Communist and labor fifth column was heard. Incited by Rev. F. E. Webber, an anti-Semitic Silver Shirt leader, hooligans broke up some Communist meetings and toted away stacks of literature, which were burned in Webber's church while the congregation sang *America.*

"Picket lines of the Workers Alliance were then busted up and Alliance members dragged off by city police for 'investigation.' They were held incommunicado for seventy-two hours, then booked for vagrancy. Our own Tom Joad, Otis Nation of the UCAPAWA and Oklahoma Tenant Farmers Union, was jugged for talking to Alan Shaw, city secretary of the Communist Party.

"Finally, with the stage all set, homes of known Communists were raided and leaders carted off to the county jail. Detectives visited the Progressive Bookstore and Communist headquarters, seizing literature and jailing twenty more people. After a three-day investigation six of us were arraigned on criminal syndicalism charges, including yours truly and Bob Wood, Mrs. Wood, Elizabeth Green, unemployed leader. Six others were 'charged with being members of the party,' among them a couple of dirt farmers. We're each under $50,000 bail, and the Communist leaders, with two charges against them, are held in $100,000 bond. Protests have been coming in from all over the country, and bail has been reduced to $70,000."

Eli Jaffe's letter, written in pencil on narrow notebook paper, ends with the plea that NM readers communicate with him at Oklahoma County Jail, Oklahoma City, and that protests be voiced to Lewis Morris, county attorney. He closes with Earl Browder's stirring promise: "To the people will belong the victory."

It is to the people that Earl Browder will go next week, in a cross-continent campaign trip which will take him to San Francisco, Seattle, and Butte. Our interest in this tour has led us to send along Joseph North, NM's editor in chief, as special correspondent.

The other evening the staff sat down with Joe and evolved a program of campaign coverage which is exciting, to say the least. It was decided to continue North's trip from the Pacific Coast and northwest into the old progressive farmer-labor states, the agrarian Midwest, the industrial near East, and, if time permits, into the poll tax South. In addition to Joe's articles, other staff members and contributors will report developments from Washington and other key cities.

NM, as the nation's only anti-war weekly, has an obligation to interpret realistically the deeper soundings of contemporary opinion. The coming North series, like his pieces from Mexico and Cuba, will contribute greatly to a better understanding of the political cross currents in this election year.

A letter we received from the South indicates the need for articles of the sort we expect Joe North to write. "We're pretty much in the dark down here in Alabama. Most of the stuff we are getting in our local newspapers consists of propaganda and canned news releases. In Birmingham everyone has a different opinion about the moves of President Roosevelt. As for Willkie, he is checked off the list as a Republican, and that's that. We need a skilled NM reporter to come down this way and dig down into the confusion and explain what's happening locally, nationally, and internationally, in language we can understand.

"For instance, a lot of the old folks around here are prohibitionists. They read that the WCTU came out against the draft and that sets them thinking. Then the progressives notice that all the Roosevelt ideas of a year or two ago on liberating the South are being forgotten. The local police are out arresting farm union leaders, breaking up union meetings, and we wonder what this means. We read that Bullitt speech where he tried to scare us all into conniption fits, and we sort of think it's hogwash. Of course, I read NM and know the real facts, but if you could send someone down to lift the lid in the South, connecting what's happening up in Washington with what's going on here, a lot of people would read NM and understand."

Last call—Friday is the day when NM's first annual weekend for readers and editors begins at Chesters' Zunbarg, high in the mountains near Woodbourne, N. Y. Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday, two and a half days of rare September vacation, are promised those who join the cavalcade. A special rate of $5 a day, $10 for the full weekend, has been arranged, with a very special program of TAC performers to entertain you. James Dugan is to be heard on Sunday morning after breakfast in his inimitable swing lecture, illustrated with old and new recordings.

Chesters' Zunbarg is a resort small enough to guarantee a homey, friendly, and NM-ish atmosphere, and large enough for you to swim, boat, hike, ride, dance, play tennis, handball, etc. We can think of no better way to wind up the all too brief summer season. Reservations may be made at Bookfair, 133 West 44th St., the Workers Book Shop at 50 East 13th St., and at NEW MASSES' office, 461 Fourth Ave. If you are obliged to delay your purchase of reservations beyond the last moment of Friday morning, you may go straight to Chesters' and register there, under the NM sign. We are furnishing bus transportation at a small extra fee; if you are driving, however, cross the George Washington Bridge and follow Routes 4, 17, and 42 direct to Woodbourne.

Who's Who

JULIAN WEBB is a free lance writer and research worker in the field of national affairs. . . . Adam Lapin is NM and *Daily Worker* correspondent in Washington. . . . Bruce Minton is co-author with John Stuart of *Men Who Lead Labor* and the recently published *The Fat Years and the Lean.* . . . Corliss Lamont is author of *You Might Like Socialism* and a philosophical work, *The Illusion of Immortality.* . . . William Blake is author of *An American Looks at Karl Marx* and two novels, *The World Is Mine* and *The Painter and the Lady.* He has just completed another novel dealing with the Civil War. . . . Millicent Lang is a graduate student specializing in literature. . . . Herbert Aptheker is author of *The Negro in the Civil War, Negro Slave Revolts in the United States,* and the recently published *The Negro in the American Revolution.* . . . Henry Hart is author of a novel, *The Great One.*

This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXVI, NO. 12

September 10, 1940

We Do Not Choose Death *An Editorial* 3
Defense, Inc.: the New du Pont Trust *by Julian Webb* 4
Capital Chessboard *by Adam Lapin* 7
America Drafts a Peace Plan *by Bruce Minton* . . . 8
Gropper's Cartoon 9
Our House Divided by Itself *A Poem by Judd Polk* . . 10
Pundit in a Penthouse *by Barbara Giles* 11
In Socialist America *by Corliss Lamont* 13
Strictly Personal *by Ruth McKenney* 15
Bill Green: Schoolmaster *by Samuel Sillen* 16
Editorial Comment 17

REVIEW AND COMMENT

Polonius and a Fabian *by William Blake* 19
Yeats Collection *by Millicent Lang* 20
Negro History *by Herbert Aptheker* 22
Mathematical Rehash *by Henry Hart* 22

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

"Rhythm on the River" *by Alvah Bessie* 22
Art work by Geoffrey David, G. Mandell, Aime.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVI SEPTEMBER 10, 1940 NUMBER 12

We Do Not Choose Death

AN EDITORIAL

FOR a century and a half this nation prided itself on the fact that the hobnailed boot was an Old World phenomenon. Ours was a different world, a New World, created by many peoples who had fled here in rebellion against the civilization of the drill sergeant. And now, by the time these words reach print, our tradition may have been reversed; the treachery of legislators who balked the people's will may have prevailed. The Burke-Wadsworth compulsory conscription bill may have been jammed through in shameful haste into law. We say shameful haste advisedly, for the anger of the American people is surging rapidly and menacingly. And the President, fully cognizant of the people's spirit, demanded the peacetime draft be passed within two weeks. To straitjacket the people into the provisions of the draft law was his aim, and the administration spared no device to secure its goals.

As we have already said, we do not know as we write this whether the bill will be law by the time this issue of NEW MASSES reaches your hands. It may. If not, it is because the legislators in the House finally felt the weight of popular pressure and gave way to it, since every one of the representatives comes up for reelection in November. The people, unerring in their instinct for democracy, know that this bill and its various demagogic amendments stand for militant anti-democracy. The minority group in the House Military Affairs Committee (surprisingly large for this generally brass-hat-controlled group), admitted that the bill "would lead ultimately to the destruction of the American form of government in a totalitarian military economy." That's how the men of the CIO, the AFL, the Railway Brotherhoods, the innumerable church and youth groupings feel about it. That's how the Emergency Peace Mobilization that met in Chicago over Labor Day weekend felt about it.

NEW MASSES has said that from the inception of the debate over the measure. We have taken issue with our contemporaries of the *New Republic,* who only yesterday claimed hearty opposition to militarism, to war, to fascism, foreign or native. But our liberal colleagues are, alas, not noted for standing the gaff. They have a 1917 tradition of capitulation when the brass hats bark their commands. In the relative stability of the 1920's that publication again opposed militarism and war. But now, like the unfortunate girl in the old English song, "once again she lost her name." For in their issue of September 2 the *New Republic* editors write, "It is with heavy heart that the editors . . . endorse the principle of compulsory service at this time. . . ." And then, with not so heavy a heart, they revile those who refuse to desert their principles, singling out the Communists in particular.

We, like so many millions who oppose the Burke-Wadsworth bill, cede to no one in our eagerness to defend our country. But we do not believe peacetime compulsory conscription is the way. We believe the absolute spread of democracy is the best means of defending our country. We hold sacred the lessons of republican Spain and of anti-imperialist China. We stand for a people's defense of the country, and we stand by every measure the people find necessary. If a people's government deemed conscription necessary, we should be the stanchest adherents of it. But we know that the Burke-Wadsworth bill is not a measure by and for the people. We know the group of bankers who fathered it. We believe, as Labor's Non-Partisan League stated the other day, "the facts are, of course, that the defense program as now apparently taking shape will not only destroy our civil liberties but will fail to make any great dent on unemployment and the twin problems of distribution of purchasing power and increased production of wealth. You cannot eat armaments, as the German workers long ago found out."

We agree with John L. Lewis' Labor Day warning that "peacetime conscription has become one of the major planks in the platform of reaction." With him we feel that national defense is "more than building great armories of airplanes, tanks, and guns." It means, as Mr. Lewis said, "the creation of a nation of strong, healthy, and happy people, dedicated to the belief that the democratic way is the best way of living."

We oppose the Burke-Wadsworth bill because we know it is a powerful, destructive weapon in the hands of anti-democratic groupings in America. We know it will prove no more a measure of defense than did universal military training in France while the representatives of the Two Hundred Families were in the saddle. We know the Burke-Wadsworth bill is a device of fascism. We abhor it and we abhor the phony amendments tacked on to it, such as the Overton-Russell measure, supposed to "conscript property." For the Overton-Russell amendment is in effect a device to shunt popular attention and resentment away from the actual draft bill, while FDR and Willkie engage in shadowboxing over the fraudulent "draft wealth" measure. There is no dismay over the amendment in the seats of the mighty. The *Herald Tribune,* speaking for the lords of creation, admitted, "It does not, of course, conscript property, nor come within a thousand miles of it." One need only remember how the President exonerated the corporations which are actually sabotaging his "defense" program in order to understand the truth about the Overton-Russell amendment. The President grows more arrogant every day, as he feels himself growing nearer to Cæsarian proportions. His echo, Senator Pepper, urging that complete and sweeping powers be provided the President, said, "If that is dictatorship, make the most of it."

We can only reply to the senator, we accept your challenge. The American people will "make the most of it." They will not remain silent. They know that every man's future, every man's plans for his life, are in the scales. They will let you know by letters, by telegrams, by personal delegations, by mass meetings. An indication of this was the American Peace Mobilization, the permanent body set up by the Emergency Peace Mobilization at Chicago. The people know that unless they mobilize as soldiers for peace, they will be mobilized as soldiers for war. And they don't see why they should die for the American counterparts of France's Two Hundred Families.

POSTSCRIPT: *We stopped the presses to include comment on the following alarming development. The President personally completed a deal such as this country has never witnessed before. He handed over fifty destroyers to another nation at war and did it without consulting the people. He has arrogated to himself dictatorial powers. He has, in effect, written the first words of his declaration of war. He did not even have the political decency to consult with Congress on this epochal decision. His attorney general, Robert Jackson, supplied the "legal approval" for the transaction. But there is a higher authority than the august attorney general: the common people, who will refuse to follow these warboats across the high seas to death.*

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Defense, Inc., the New du Pont Trust

How the merchants of death have taken over the vast business of "national defense." William S. Knudsen, sales manager in chief. Interlocking directorates with the Nazis and the British.

WALL STREET has reopened its Washington branch offices, hung out the "War for Sale" shingle, and started raking in the cash. The sales quota is $14,000,000,000; the price all that the market will bear, and then some. Salesmen and buyers—they are one and the same—are quartered in the government's choicest air-conditioned, FBI-guarded office suites. The merchants of death and destruction offer their wares in the guise of "preparedness," "arms for the national defense," and "the preservation of democracy." The sales policy is one designed to reintroduce militarism and imperialist war, to pave the way for intervention in Europe and conquest of markets in Central and South America. Meanwhile, to help out the sales campaign, hysteria-bitten congressmen, whooped on by President Roosevelt and his pack of turncoat liberal followers, have handed big business control of the government and the combination to the Treasury safe.

William S. Knudsen, $340,000-a-year General Motors–du Pont executive, is sales manager in chief, armed with actual and potential dictatorial powers that many a Nazi chieftain would envy. Edward R. Stettinius, ex-General Motors–du Pont executive, ex-chairman of US Steel Corp., and Morgan handyman, is assistant chief salesman. These two Wall Street emissaries, together with five less well connected associates, make up the NDAC (National Defense Advisory Commission). Assisting them in the congenial job of transforming a record defense appropriation into booty for the Lords of Creation are some fifty bankers, board chairmen, presidents and vice presidents of America's biggest corporations, and about five hundred employees. Symbolic of finance capital's bloodless capture of Washington is the announcement that on its completion next month the NDAC will take over the new Social Security Board building. Vanquished New Dealers have invited their new allies to carry on their work of handing industry about $40,000,000 a day in contracts in the very rooms which were once to be devoted to the development of a social security program for the American people.

WHAT GOES ON?

What goes on behind the doors of NDAC offices, protected by an edict of secrecy imposed by the commission itself? Information seekers find themselves up against as effective a censorship as that intended for the whole country when M-Day plans move another step ahead. No word is allowed to come from the commission except by way of canned, tell-nothing publicity releases which rehearse the "great patriotism" of American industry. Interviews are forbidden unless questions and answers are approved in advance. The full story of what is happening behind the locked doors may never be told until some future Nye or Graham committee digs into the secret files of Wall Street and the White House. And if investigators ever swing into action again they will have to begin at the very point where the munitions inquiry left off. They will have to call pretty much the same witnesses, for the cast of participants in the current raid on the Treasury is largely the same cast which once before trooped past Congress to confess World War sins and be piously urged to go and sin no more.

Dollar-a-year men, the country remembers well, were invented by President Wilson in August 1916 when he picked the National Defense Council Advisory Commission and in July 1917 when the War Industries Board was set up. The job of conducting national defense buying was then turned over to representatives of industry with scandalous results. Some of the corporations which contributed executives to this first adventure in business dictatorship—a program enveloped in "an almost impenetrable fog of waste, incompetence, and graft"—are worth remembering: US Steel, Dillon, Read & Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co., American Telephone & Telegraph, and the predecessors of General Motors. The notable thing about this partial list is that without exception representatives of these corporations have returned for another rich harvest. They are the ones who so arranged matters that while millions poured into the pockets of business, one-fourth of the shells ordered during the war were manufactured after the Armistice, only sixteen American-made tanks reached France by the end of the war, no American-made guns appeared until September 1918, and no American-made fighting plane of any description ever reached the front.

William S. Knudsen

THE NEWCOMERS

But while old hands are back in the cash register, a new group has seized the reins of power and control. The newcomers are the du Ponts, who profited vastly from the last war but didn't run it. Gross war receipts exceeding $1,000,000,000 turned the du Pont holdings into a great industrial empire, and made the du Ponts themselves members of the select company of business rulers of the earth. Their factories produced 40 percent of all the propellant powders used by the Allies and the United States, and earnings were so great that, on top of fat bonuses and swollen salaries, dividends were paid on du Pont stock which amounted to 458 percent of its original par value. Enough profit was left over to pick up for a mere $47,000,000 working control of mammoth General Motors, and to reestablish relationships with the great chemical and munitions trusts of both Germany and England. Formal and informal post-war agreements were reached which had the effect of dividing up the world for sales purposes among du Pont–General Motors, England's Imperial Chemical Industries, and Germany's Hitler-backed I. G. Farbenindustrie. Subsequently the du Ponts swallowed up the Remington Arms Co., the Peters Cartridge Co., and some of their principal competitors in the chemical field. Later the United States Rubber Co. and the National Bank of Detroit came under du Pont influence. Through General Motors the du Ponts are heavily interested in a number of aviation plants, including North American Aviation, Inc. (makers of military planes), Bendix Aviation Corp. (aircraft accessories), Engineering Products, Inc. (airplane propellers), and Allison (motors). There are strong links with the Morgan banks through the bankers' substantial interest in General Motors and through their role as du Pont bankers and underwriters. The ramifications of du Pont power, now vastly expanded through capture of the defense program, are almost too great to comprehend. John J. Raskob summed up the picture some years ago when he wrote (in the course of a letter urging the du Ponts to "organize" to protect society against "communistic elements"): "I believe there is no group, including the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Mellons, or anyone else, that begins to control and be responsible for as much industrially as is the du Pont company."

It is well known that the army's industrial mobilization plans contemplate investing absolute dictatorial power in the defense commission. Just how far the du Ponts will go

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when they get the green light from their army friends remains to be seen. Just now the commission is busy writing checks. But there are persistent questions that daily become more urgent. Has this country, in the three months since the NDAC was created, already crossed the slender line which separates a covertly business-controlled democracy from an openly business-controlled fascist state? It is most significant that it was the German friends of the du Pont group who established Hitler in power, while here at home financial backing was being provided for the Sentinels of America, the Black Legion, the Crusaders, the Liberty League, and the National Association of Manufacturers. It is also significant that both du Pont and General Motors have recruited specialists from the staff of J. Edgar Hoover's government Gestapo to look into union activity.

Who are the du Pont agents in charge of the nation's defense? First and foremost is William S. Knudsen, now on leave of absence from his posts of president, chairman of the Administrative Committee, member of the Policy Committee, and director of General Motors. He is substantially interested in the corporate alliance with which, as production commissioner, he has already had considerable dealings. In addition to his other holdings, last year the corporation voted him a stock bonus of 4,626 shares valued at $222,900. Mr. Knudsen's business interests give him a very large stake in the affairs of both combatants in Europe's war. As second highest GM executive Mr. Knudsen has necessarily been in close touch with General Motors' European divisions. Some of these are very far from being small potatoes. General Motors Acceptance Corp., which transacted $94,591,429 of foreign business in 1938, owns 100 percent of the stock of the Allgemeine Finanzierungs-Gesellschaft of Russelsheim, a. M., Germany, and of the Vauxhall & General Finance Corp. of Luton, Bedfordshire, England. General Motors also owns the entire ordinary shares and 71 percent of the preferred shares of Vauxhall Motors, Ltd., English truck and automobile manufacturers. This extremely prosperous British outpost of GM paid a 15 percent dividend in 1939. The Vauxhall plants are now manufacturing tanks for the British Army.

Another profitable General Motors branch is now engaged in manufacturing munitions for the German Army. Four years before Hitler came to power, GM purchased the automobile plants of Adam Opel, A.G., at Russelsheim and Brandenburg. Mr. Knudsen has himself stated that when this property was acquired it had a production of only ten cars a day. The advent of Hitler brought astonishing prosperity. Here's the sales record:

Year	*Units sold*
1933	39,295
1934	71,665
1935	102,765
1936	120,397
1937	128,370
1938	139,631

The extent to which these sales reflect orders in connection with the mechanization of the German Army has not been divulged. However, the 1938 gross profit, income from investments, etc., before deductions, was 163,399,443 reichsmarks.

When considering Mr. Knudsen's new power over American affairs it is informative to note who some of his fellow General Motors directors have been. They have included Fritz Opel, the German industrialist and Nazi leader; Sir Harry McGowan, head of Imperial Chemical Industries, England's great munitions and chemical trust which owns stock in General Motors, du Pont, Dynamit Aktien-Gesellschaft, I. G. Farbenindustrie, and is allied with the Westfalische Sprengstoff; and Arthur Purvis, long head of Canadian Industries, Ltd., a Canadian munitions firm which is owned jointly by the du Ponts and Imperial Chemical Industries. It is most significant that Arthur Purvis was placed in charge of the British Purchasing Commission in the United States. In this capacity he has enriched his American business associates by vast munitions and equipment contracts including a $20,000,000 powder plant near Memphis to be constructed and operated by the du Ponts.

Query: how is Mr. Knudsen, a defense commissioner, to decide issues which affect, at one and the same time, (1) his own pocketbook, (2) the welfare of 130,000,000 Americans, (3) the greed for profit of investors in warring countries, (4) the simultaneous defense needs of Britain, Germany, and the United States?

Mr. Knudsen may well have a difficult time in steering a course which will not bring him afoul his English and German enterprises. He is certainly in an even more dubious position, both legally and morally, when he stands on both sides of the sales counter at once, as buyer and seller. For example, some eight weeks after his appointment the defense commission completed a $15,254,786 contract with the Yellow Truck & Coach Manufacturing Co., one of General Motors' chief subsidiaries. Two weeks before this another contract was cleared with the same company for $109,439. Negotiations are now said to be under way with General Motors for the operation of one or more aircraft cannon factories. Not all defense purchases are revealed, and no doubt the most important—or the most lucrative—are kept shrouded with the veil of secrecy applied to the commission's workings. However, it is known that between June 21 and August 3 the Knudsen commission executed sixteen contracts, aggregating about $1,000,000, with Bendix Aviation subsidiaries in which General Motors is interested.

On August 9 the du Pont-dominated NDAC approved a $20,000,000 purchase of smokeless powder from du Pont. Mr. Knudsen's friends and associates received an order for $44,120 worth of Remington cartridges on June 21 and $17,470 worth of primers on July 5 (Remington is du Pont-owned). Other

Edward R. Stettinius

du Pont contracts have been signed calling for $175,964 worth of powder (July 6), $412,472 worth of nitric acid equipment (July 7), and $17,515 of surface tape (July 5). On July 29 the Hercules Powder Co., in which the du Ponts have an interest through their foreign subsidiaries, secured an order for $458,160 of explosives. On August 2 the United States Rubber Co. (du Pont-controlled through minority stockholdings) received an order for an indefinite amount of rubber hose. The press reports that negotiations are now under way for the sale to the army of a new airplane armor plate developed by the du Ponts.

No. 2 member of the NDAC is Edward R. Stettinius, who left his $100,000-a-year post as chairman of Morgan's US Steel to take charge of the materials division of the commission. Like Mr. Knudsen, strong ties bind him to the General Motors–du Pont group; until 1934 he was himself a ranking General Motors executive. The Morgan–du Pont links have been mentioned above. (Less well known is the fact that in the twenties the du Ponts embarked on a campaign of buying US Steel stock until the Federal Trade Commission served notice that it would investigate the relations among the three corporations.) Early in August the Morgan-controlled Baldwin Locomotive Works got a nice order from the NDAC for $5,689,725 of tanks. But US Steel's 100 percent owned subsidiary, Federal Shipbuilding Corp., really hit the defense commission's jackpot. On one day, July 1, it received contracts for six destroyers at $7,159,700 each, two destroyers at $8,500,000 each, and two destroyers at $5,277,000 each. Three weeks later two more destroyers were ordered at $5,277,000 each, making a total of over

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$81,000,000 blown toward Mr. Stettinius' old associates. Meanwhile, the US Steel Corp. has been growing fat on the munitions boom. Profits for the first half of 1939 were $1,970,311. This year, with steel mills running at the highest rate since 1929, profits were $36,315,003 for the first half.

A third important du Pont–General Motors man in the defense setup is E. F. Johnson, General Motors executive in charge of parts and accessories, who has been given full charge of ordnance production. This is not a surprising assignment in view of the fact, brought out by the Munitions Committee, that the army's Ordnance Department considers du Pont to be "almost a subdivision of their own department." As early as 1934, according to another semi-official document offered before the same committee, "a very large production of war materials has been tentatively allocated to the du Pont company."

Many another man in Mr. Knudsen's position would step aside when it came to approving an order to be handed a firm with which he had been closely associated, and leave the decision to his executive assistant. This would not ensure neutrality in the present case, for Mr. Knudsen's executive assistant is John D. Biggers, president of Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co., the country's largest producer of safety and window glass. Some 60 percent of LOF production is used by the automobile industry, and the greatest part of that production goes to General Motors by an agreement dating back a number of years. Because of this dominant business relationship, Mr. Biggers must be counted within the du Pont–General Motors sphere of influence. It is also interesting to note that Mr. Biggers' company has a number of large foreign subsidiaries, including the Nippon Sheet Glass Co., with plants at Futashima and Yokkaichi, Japan, and the Deutsche Libbey-Owens Gesellschaft fur Maschinelle Glasketstellung, A.G., of Gelsenkirchen, Germany.

Other important NDAC people drawn from the du Pont industrial hierarchy include Frederick C. Horner, assistant to the chairman of General Motors, who is acting as consultant to Ralph Budd, defense commissioner in charge of transportation, and H. J. White, chairman of the Viscose-Rayon division of du Pont, who is NDAC textile specialist.

It apparently isn't part of the du Pont game to deprive others of a few scraps from the defense banquet, for room has been made for outside interests. Two Mellon men, for example, Edward Ray Weidlein, director of the Mellon Institute, and Allen W. Martin, vice president of the Koppers Co., are active in NDAC matters. As this article was written, a New York federal grand jury was hearing charges that joint control of patents by Mellon's Aluminum Co. of America and the German dye trust, I. G. Farbenindustrie, was giving the Nazis the power to hold up the use of light magnesium alloys essential in the airplane industry. At the same time the twenty-six-month-long anti-trust case against the Aluminum Co. was being concluded in the federal courts. It was charged that the Mellons had an absolute monopoly on this country's capacity for smelting bauxite ore into aluminum ingots and virtually all of the country's bauxite deposits, and that the Mellon company, through a Canadian affiliate, controlled world production and sales. (Aluminum increased in price 270 percent during the last war.)

Another typical member of the extraordinary company who are preparing "national defense" is William Loren Batt, American head of SKF Industries, Inc. (Aktiebolaget Svenska Kullagerfabriken, the Scandinavian-German ball and roller bearings trust). Of the five directors of the American subsidiary two have their office in Goteborg, Sweden, one is Mr. Batt, and another is a partner in the banking firm of Brown Bros. & Harriman, (W. A. Harriman of this firm is also a member of the NDAC staff) and a director of the Norwegian-American Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Batt is vice president and director of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce. SKF is linked to Skefko Ball Bearing Co., Ltd., of England, the Vereinigte Kugellagerfabriken, A.G., of Germany, and the Compagnie d'Applications Mecaniques of France.

The problem of defense commission financial dealings with firms in which members of the staff are interested is by no means confined to the du Pont–General Motors group. Good example is Theodore P. Wright, vice president of Curtiss-Wright on the one hand, and defense commission aviation expert on the other. Curtiss-Wright, whose manufacturing facilities were valued at less than $19,000,000 at the beginning of 1940, arranged to get a $92,000,000 RFC loan to build two new plants (under an amortization plan which will permit Curtiss-Wright to pay off the loan in eight years with public funds) for handling defense orders. Curtiss-Wright profits this year increased nearly 100 percent over last year, and the company had booked $248,668,549 in unfilled orders as of June 30. (Incidentally, there is reason to believe that defense commission pressure caused Attorney General Jackson to move to reopen the Bridges case in an effort to discredit or impede CIO progress in organizing the West Coast aviation industry.)

Another case worth studying is that of Robert T. Stevens, president and director of J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc., New York textile sales firm, who is interested in half a dozen textile mills. He is acting as the NDAC's textile expert. Soon after his selection "defense" contracts were approved calling for the purchase of millions of yards of cloth from J. P. Stevens & Co. Between June 13 and August 7 it is estimated that Stevens' firm received contracts for cloth amounting to $4,346,968.

Another member of the NDAC staff is Marion B. Folsom, treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Co. In the three-week period ending August 6 Eastman was awarded six contracts for film, telephones, and telescopes, amounting in all to $606,000. Gano Dunn, president of J. G. White Engineering Corp., who helped Willkie bludgeon the TVA into paying an exorbitant price for one of his utility companies, was named to the NDAC staff as an assistant to Stettinius. Not long afterward his firm was awarded a $740,000 engineering job at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Mr. Dunn is also listed as a director of RCA, a firm which has received commission-approved contracts.

This situation sums itself up as follows: our government in Washington has been taken over, lock, stock, and barrel, by the direct representatives of Big Business, the biggest Big Business. A man named Karl Marx once observed that the state under capitalism is the "executive committee of the ruling class." There have been times in American history when that ruling class control has been relatively oblique: today, under cover of emergency and "defense" preparations, such control has become open and direct. Second, it is clear that these gentlemen conceive of national defense primarily in terms of their almighty dollar, and defense of that dollar for them means offensive operations against the living standards, the liberties, the peace of the American people. Finally, the imperialist character of this situation is exemplified by the international network of General Motors and du Pont operations. At the same time that they control American industry and American politics, they have their tentacles in the industry and commerce of every important nation (the USSR excluded) among which are both belligerents—Britain and Germany—plus fascist Spain, fascist France, and totalitarian Japan. The question remains: can we really preserve democracy for the American people by permitting these men to continue their grip on Washington? Can we really expect defense of the United States in the tender claws of this international octopus?

JULIAN WEBB.

Wee Wendell Willkie

"YOU see, my family lived in the town of Elwood, Ind. When I was growing up, Elwood was a boom town, a factory town, a tough town. . . . Well, the Willkie family was somewhat of a bookish lot. . . . We weren't accepted by the kids whose fathers worked in the factories. We were outsiders and we felt it."—*The Republican presidential candidate as reported in an interview with Virginia Irwin, St. Louis "Post Dispatch."*

Roosevelt's Choice?

"THE New Deal boys have already started coining anti-Willkie slogans. The first one is 'Hopson's Choice.' Hopson is a utility man, too. Get it? And the former head of the Associated Gas & Electric Co. has run into a great deal of legal trouble recently. The other Washington report is that Roosevelt intended to name Willkie his national defense coordinator if the Republicans had failed to nominate him."—*Marquis Childs, St. Louis "Post-Dispatch."*

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Capital Chessboard

The status of USA-USSR relations. How Japan figures in the diplomatic picture. . . . An item, too, on the awful dilemma of FDR's Sidney Hillman.

Washington, D. C.

EXTREME caution is needed in appraising news reports from Washington concerning alleged improvements in Soviet-American relations. So far there has not been a single concrete development to disprove the truth of Molotov's recent judgment that "nothing good" can be said about relations between the USSR and the United States. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that some of the optimistic stories have been inspired by State Department sources with the primary intent of strengthening the hand of American diplomats in their current hagglings with Japan.

A little incident which took place during the hectic days of the fight to lift the embargo on Spain will illustrate the point. It will be recalled that the New York *Times* announced in a lead story a few months before the Spanish republic was strangled by England, France, and the United States that the embargo was as good as lifted. The State Department was supposed to be backing the move, and the Senate was reported to be overwhelmingly for it. Of course there was no truth to this story. Later it developed that the source of the fabrication was the group of influential pro-Franco supporters in the State Department. They felt that a blatant exaggeration of this sort was necessary in order to swing the Catholic hierarchy into action against repeal of the embargo.

ULTERIOR MOTIVE

The ulterior motive in the recent crop of inaccurate reports is the State Department's desire to keep Japan out of the Dutch East Indies. In an effort to frighten Japan, the administration is attempting to create the impression that a Soviet-American rapprochement is at hand. This seems to be the real reason why Undersecretary of State Welles undertook his talks with Soviet Ambassador Oumansky.

Obviously, the immediate and practical basis for a friendly agreement between the USSR and the United States lies in the Far Eastern situation. It would be in the national interest of both the USA and the USSR if China could beat back the Japanese invaders and emerge a free and independent nation. But there is no evidence so far that the State Department favors this kind of solution of the Far Eastern problem. On the contrary, all the signs indicate that the administration will sacrifice China if it can make an advantageous deal with Japan.

The one instance that has been cited to show the beginning of a new, strong American policy in opposition to Japanese aggression proves nothing of the sort. It is true that the government has stopped shipments of the high-test airplane gasoline so valuable to the Japanese in their invasion of China. But it is also true that the State Department has not embargoed motor gasoline used by Japanese trucks and motorized equipment in China. Nor has an embargo been placed on shipments of scrap iron. Experts here say that Japanese production of steel has been geared to the use of scrap iron and that shutting off the American supply would seriously cripple all Japan's war industries. Motor gas and scrap iron are on the list of materials which the President may embargo. But he has not embargoed them as yet. And this fact alone indicates that the administration continues to play imperialist poker with the Japanese militarists.

NEGATIVE FACTORS

Before any cheerful and hasty conclusions are reached on the Oumansky-Welles conversations there are several negative factors in American-Soviet relations to be considered. It would be a mistake to gloss over the Soviet reservation in connection with its recently signed trade agreement with the US—namely, that the USSR could not guarantee to keep up her part of the bargain and take $40,000,000 in American goods unless restrictions on exports to the Soviet Union from this country were eased. The fact is that there has been considerable administration interference with Soviet-American trade. Here again there have been a number of optimistic reports—but the interference has by no means wholly ceased. It is also worth remembering that the emphasis of the Scripps-Howard papers on the Soviet "menace" to Alaska, as indicated in its recent series of articles by Ludwell Denny, reflects an official attitude. The War Department is now spending upwards of $30,000,000 in building airports and army posts in Alaska. One of the worst calamity howlers about a Soviet threat to America's northern possession is Gov. Ernest Gruening of Alaska, erstwhile liberal and former editor of the *Nation*. Gruening constantly beats the drums for more funds for Alaskan "defenses." This entire scare about the Alaskan situation is hardly calculated to improve Soviet-American relations.

The logic of the international situation has of course lent credence to the conjectures that the USSR and the USA may be coming closer together. Certainly an agreement between the two countries would be real national defense, without quotation marks or reservations. It would be worth at least a half dozen of the miscellaneous billions the administration is spending on armaments. Many Americans, including some on the conservative side, are beginning to realize this. But such attitudes have made few inroads into administration circles. These circles are still disposed to emulate Great Britain and try anything before talking seriously to the terrible Russians.

SIDNEY HILLMAN has the hottest seat in the government by a long shot. Hillman went out of his way to choose for his labor advisory council people he thought would be uncritical of administration policies. He went so far as to exclude from representation such important unions from a defense standpoint as the National Maritime Union and the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers. But Hillman is now meeting opposition from even his own handpicked men. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, is reported to have lodged a vehement protest against the continued policy of the government in giving anti-labor firms juicy armaments contracts. Hillman is said to have replied with a long patriotic speech on the need for national defense first, pointing out that nothing can be done about the matter anyway. Thomas, although a stanch Roosevelt supporter, is understood to have retorted angrily that the enthusiasm of many auto workers for a third term might cool off if this sort of thing keeps up.

It was only a few weeks ago that the gossip column of the *Nation* reported coyly that John L. Lewis was getting ready to resign as president of the CIO because of the growing unpopularity of his anti-Roosevelt stand. The truth is that Lewis is succeeding very rapidly in isolating Hillman from many of his friends in the CIO and certainly from the great rank and file of CIO members. Lewis has hammered away at the three worst points in the Roosevelt program: conscription, profiteering, and rewarding anti-labor firms with contracts. In public Hillman has been silent on the last two points, but he is on record for conscription. (Secretary of War Stimson issued a statement for the Advisory Defense Commission endorsing conscription. Hillman is still a member of the ADC.) Philip Murray and R. J. Thomas went along with Hillman on the third term issue, but they have naturally had to part company with him on these other matters. A good many honest rank and file unionists may still think that Roosevelt ought to be reelected, but they are nevertheless backing John L. Lewis in his attack on the features of the "defense" program that are harmful to labor and vastly beneficial to big business. As the real character of Roosevelt's obeisance to the war profiteers becomes more apparent, Hillman will lose, while Lewis will gain adherents not only for his stand on immediate issues but also for his insistence on the need for a new progressive third party.

ADAM LAPIN.

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America Drafts a Peace Plan

"A people's legislature" is how Bruce Minton describes the Emergency Peace Mobilization at Chicago. Who the "legislators" were and what they decreed. A great American landmark.

Chicago.

Out of America's deepest yearning, out of the nation's terrible need, comes this moment of decision. At Chicago the people called for peace. The call was also a demand translated into action by the Emergency Peace Mobilization conference.

It is of value to think back a moment to early spring 1917, when Congress met to debate a question the people believed had already been settled. Five months before, in the presidential election of 1916, America had chosen peace, not war. But the man who in pedantic phrases had pledged himself to abide by the will of the majority now cried for one last war, one which he promised would spell the death of war for all time. The people of America did not believe him. But once they had cast their ballots, they no longer counted. At the instant of betrayal, where could the people turn? Not to a press clamoring for imperialist war. Not to a labor leadership corrupted and servile. Not to intellectuals busily splitting hairs and loudly recanting everything they had a few months before so solemnly proclaimed as their eternal credo. Pacifist idealists, wearing white lilies in their buttonholes, scurried to Washington to argue with a President whose mind was closed to argument. A handful of brave men and women attempted to rally the country to protest. But then it was too late.

It is important to remember those tragic days—in the light of experience, to consider the conference that met in Chicago over Labor Day. Here, this week, the people organized. For them peace had but one meaning, precise and clear. It was not a word to be mouthed into its antithesis, as has been done by FDR remembering Wilson, and by Wendell Willkie mimicking Roosevelt. To the people peace means only peace. They alone can defend it.

COLLECTIVE ACHIEVEMENT

Yet this historic conference is difficult to report. To describe the colorful spectacle at the stadium would mean misplacing the accent, misrepresenting. There was color enough, there were moments of elation when the thousands rose cheering from their seats. From all over the nation the delegates had traveled by jalopy and excursion train, by plane or by freight, thumbing their way or jouncing along in chartered buses. They came out of the Dust Bowl, from the great factory centers, from the skyscraper offices of large cities, Negro and white, youth and women and veterans of other wars, seamen and auto workers and sharecroppers. But the individuals were not the convention, and what any one person said was not the important matter. The achievement was collective, a mighty promise and an even mightier responsibility for those of us who have faith in America.

It was not like any other convention. It was without precedent. "It is like something in nature which is inevitable and prescient," said John B. Thompson, the temporary chairman. "We've gotten down to our bare hands," said the delegate from a bootleg mine. "It needed something as awful and as ominous as conscription to bring us here," said the young Negro who had returned from a Northern college to his Southern home town. "It took what money I had left," said the Michigan farmer, "but my wife told me I must be here."

So, to give a true account of this conference, it is necessary to tell how it came about, to analyze wherein lay its strength, to point out that what could have been an emotional and idealistic rally went beyond the stage of adopting resolutions to steps assuring the fulfillment of these resolutions. Perhaps this report will not do justice to those who filled the stadium. But they were only the initiators of a movement that has the obligation to direct the course of history.

There had been little time to prepare. The abrupt proposal to conscript peacetime America had spurred the American Youth Congress to send invitations to mass organizations, to the people themselves, to those whose hate of war found no echo in the press. The conference which youth proposed was supported in towns and farm counties where neighbors gathered to debate and then to send delegates.

But even the first steps revealed immense difficulties. The newspapers scarcely mentioned the conference, and when they did they misrepresented it completely. Since some Americans are Communists and the Communists struggle for peace, the conference was labeled Red. Since some Americans are Jews, and the Jewish people hate war, the anti-Semites howled. Since Negroes are Americans who overwhelmingly resist war, the conference was slandered by professional lynchers, by Ku Kluxers and "lily whites." Since workers want peace, labor-baiters called the conference a plot on the part of the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the local AFL leaders. But most of all, since the administration and its loyal opposition led by Wendell Willkie are resolved to build the imperialist domain of the United States, those who said no war were called un-American, Red, dominated by the Jews and the Negroes; they were called unrepresentative, pro-Hitler, subversive, alien, fifth columnist—the labels were slapped on indiscriminately. The conference invalidated some cherished blueprints of a future plotted by the nation's mighty—blueprints to prolong the European and Asiatic wars because prolongation would earn profits for American monopoly; blueprints to annex Latin America, because annexation would gather markets for American monopoly; blueprints to bring this country directly into war because then American monopoly could participate most effectively in the redivision of the world. But Americans are apt to brush labels aside, and while peace may not be fashionable, while it lacks the approval of the best people, it is the demand closest to the hearts of millions.

"THE NOBODIES"

The conference gained increasing support. But most of the encouragement came from "the nobodies who are the everybodies." Those boasting weighty names stayed home—except a few, like Paul Robeson, people's artist; Rep. Vito Marcantonio, the one man in Congress who withstood hysteria to vote against armaments not actually needed for defense; trade unionists like Joseph Curran of the seamen, Reid Robinson of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, and Quill of the Transport Workers; Yergan and Davis of the Negro Congress, Dr. Townsend, who sees in the security of our youth the security of the aged; leaders of the church like John B. Thompson and Owen B. Knox. But some with names of repute flirted briefly with the conference (for they too wanted peace). Then, when the labels were applied, their attitude suddenly cooled. There was something too realistic, too determined, too active about the way things were planned. They had bargained for only a vague speech or two that committed no one to anything. With few exceptions, those who gathered in Chicago were nameless people who go about their daily lives quietly desiring only a certain security and a certain chance to live sanely and fully—people to whom the question of peace or war is existence itself.

The American Peace Mobilization, the permanent body set up by the convention, came into being as the instrument of the masses, influenced strongly by organized labor, since the delegates were in large part union members.

Youth, too, was predominant. By far the greatest proportion of those attending were of draft age. The EPM was also broadly representative of religious groups. And it reflected the decisive and ever stronger unity between Negro and white.

Such is the composition of the new weapon for peace. It has other points of strength. There have been peace rallies before, but never in this country have such meetings approached problems with equal clarity and understanding. The Chicago conference was not "pacifist": it opposed war realistically. Delegates knew that the central cause of war could not be found in human frailty or in the plottings of a few evil men. There was little name

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Our House Divided by Itself

It's easy. This is how.
Count all the people, carefully, one at a time.
Ask questions. Record answers. For instance,
if they make less than a living, mark it.
Mark it if they make more.
If they have a radio, check radio.
If a house, check house.
Similarly rooms, bathrooms, frigidaires.
If they rent, how much?
How old a man is, whether he's married,
how many times he's been blessed with kids, etc.

All these things count. Count them.
Put them all into the machines.
Start the wheels working. Wait.
It will take a while, but wait.
It has to be coded, carded, counted, combed,
raised to the highest power, purged of mean roots.
The radical signs have to be removed.
In short, it has to be averaged, plain divided up.

No one will come off unfairly.
Names don't count, everyone is the same.
Nobody will be left aged or sick.
Everybody gets some kids.
Only an average hunger is left in the land.
Everybody gets a fraction of a job,
to support a fraction of a family,
in a good-sized fraction of a house.

No bloodshed, no plots, no hard feelings.
No taking over of the telephone exchanges.
This is the wisdom of the founding fathers.
It's right in the constitution.
It happens every ten years.
It's easy.

JUDD POLK.

calling. The disease of war, it was stressed, resulted directly from the dislocation of the economic system. The great nations, unable to sell sufficient goods within their own boundaries, needed to extend their markets, needed new regions to exploit. But the markets everywhere had already been captured: to gain outlets meant to seize them from some powerful rival. The war for the redivision of the world broke out again in Europe. It would overwhelm this country too if the greedy few were permitted to pursue policies designed to win them a major share of the loot.

The conference understood this. Furthermore, it pointed out that wars of imperialism could in no way benefit the majority, or be considered in defense of democracy. Such wars, the conference warned, meant democracy's doom.

The conclusions implied that all struggle against war and for democracy necessitated far stronger methods than agitation against war. To bewail the horrors of mass bombings, to paint the tragedy of being maimed or the danger of death, was not the central issue. The hideousness of war was accepted by the conference as a premise. Emotionalism would not stop it, particularly if emotionalism lacked direction. The convention had the task not of convincing itself that war is hell, but of finding immediate means to prevent American involvement. It was urgent to realize that since democracy and imperialist war are incompatible, every protection granted democracy is at the same time the most effective blow for peace. Logically, then, only by implementing the democratic way could American defense be assured. Real defense, which could only be the defense of democracy and peace, was the rule of thumb for judging the issues. Did peacetime conscription strengthen the democratic liberties of a free people? The convention's answer was a unanimous No. Conscription would lead this country into the very shadow of fascism. By rule of thumb, this weakening of democracy would imperil peace. To prevent war, conscription must be defeated. First and foremost of all resolutions adopted by the conference was a demand that the conscription bill be thrown out of Congress. A special convention train was rerouted through the nation's capital so that the delegates could inform their congressmen personally of their opposition.

In other words, with a sound grasp of the causes of war the conference could pass immediately from mere opposition to positive steps to bulwark peace. By the resolutions stressed at Chicago we can judge the type of organization born at the conference. The poll tax robs Negro and poor white voters in the South of their democratic rights; therefore it undermines the defense of America and brings this country closer to war: the poll tax must go. Curtailment of WPA, government attacks on the trade unions menace the national standard of living and so threaten democracy: therefore WPA as well as all other social legislation must be supported if peace is to be preserved. Civil rights, the core of the democratic process, must be defended at all times, for aliens and minority political parties, for union members and racial groupings, for all religious faiths, and for the press, for the poor and the unemployed and the dispossessed. "Keep democracy a vital reality," said Rev. Owen Knox, "and we will defend it with all that we have."

Any other course would be nonsense. We cannot "fight Hitlerism by out-Hitlering Hitler, or preserve democracy by first murdering it," warned the conference chairman. It is as simple as that. A free country grows strong. In such strength rests its true defense, based on the people's willingness to fight for their way of life. Armaments do not spell victory, not armaments in the hands of men with nothing to defend. The specter of France stalked the conference hall, and from that specter came the knowledge that to impair democracy at home spelled calamity. At Chicago much was accomplished in a very short time. There remains, however, immensely more to be done before the American Peace Mobilization can realize its full potential. Despite the participation of numerous unions, the bulk of the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods are still to be enlisted in the organized peace movement. Farmers came to Chicago, but their numbers were few in contrast to the peace-loving population that works the land. Small business men, professionals, intellectuals attended, but many more remain to be drawn into this movement. The conference, in reality a people's legislature, was broad. It represented a vast cross-section of America. But it was small in view of the forces available. It was narrow in comparison with the universality of its objectives.

"This must be a grassroots movement," read the resolution on organizational structure. "It must spring from the streets and homes, the factories and the farms. It must call forth the initiative of the tens of millions who are not yet active, but must become active, if America is to march ahead to a fuller and freer life."

Chicago was a beginning. Perhaps some day it will be regarded as a landmark, as the moment when a broad people's movement, anti-war and anti-imperialist, was launched. For the APM can become the instrument of struggle to maintain peace and democracy.

There is little time. Peace is fragile. But Chicago pointed the way. The responsibility to build the APM rests with every American of good will.

BRUCE MINTON.

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Pundit in a Penthouse

Walter Lippmann's progress: from Steffens to Willkie. His main worry now, writes Barbara Giles, is whether Franklin or Wendell will make the better gendarme.

WALTER LIPPMANN these days is as tremulous as a maid on her wedding eve. A Lippmann dream that goes back at least twenty-six years is about to be consummated. Actually, two marriages are involved—that of the USA with the British empire (with the USA the groom); and of government with the very biggest business. The wedding is necessarily a double one: to preserve Britain and ourselves from the onslaught of "authoritarian collectivism" we must effect her rescue and alliance; to effect a rescue we must build total defense; and total defense requires a House of Morgan multiplied, elevated, and armed—and no sass from the nether classes.

The details of the honeymoon can easily be imagined. Of more interest are the progeny which Mr. Lippmann expects of it. There will be two. The ultimate and idealistic one is a lovely Anglo-Saxon maiden, with a Manchester-liberal complexion, by the name of Free Market. The immediate and practical is an unpleasant giant called Collective Monopoly Dictatorship at Home. Mr. Lippmann explains that he himself would rather do without the latter but how else can we fight Imperial Socialist Revolution? After the giant has made Free Market safe from the wicked ogre abroad we can dispose of him. This may be a little upsetting to people who have learned from Mr. Lippmann's book *The Good Society* (1937) that *any* concession to collectivism —the progressive New Deal measures, for example—will most likely end in death to free markets. It will not, however, surprise those who have read Lippmann long enough to understand his definitions.

Collectivism, in the Lippmann lexicon, is like a set of false whiskers. Apply them to social reform and you get a Bolshevik. But put them on US Steel, say, and what do you have?—Santa Claus. Thus in *Drift and Mastery* (1914) Mr. Lippmann celebrated the spread of mergers because that made them almost like public institutions—great collective enterprises administered by the luminaries of business. In *The Good Society* he criticized the New Deal as the sprouting of a hairy growth termed gradual collectivism. At the same time he performed the remarkable feat of fastening the Bolshevik whiskers on Adolf Hitler's jaw, using the mucilage of "totalitarianism" (also known in the Lippmann dictionary as revolution, world revolution, or imperial socialist revolution). This is the ogre against which free markets must be defended by the generals of Great Collective Enterprises, Inc.

It won't do simply to call Mr. Lippmann inconsistent or confused. Walter is no jeep. He knows perfectly well that his precious big-business enterprises were gobbling up the free market long before "authoritarian collectivism" was heard of. He knows that Nazism is not Communism in the least, that it is in fact very close to his own idea of Santa Claus. No one has to tell him that he wants us to fight, not fascism in its political manifestation, but the threat of German capital, of German imperialism, to United States and British imperialism. Indeed, Mr. Lippmann has virtually told us so himself. In a recent column he reprinted an editorial from the Feb. 17, 1917, issue of the *New Republic*, of which he was an editor; it is titled "Defense of the Atlantic World," and according to Walter, the editors wrote it after obtaining firsthand knowledge of Woodrow Wilson's views. Mr. Lippmann reprints it this year to prove—which he certainly succeeds in doing—that he believed then as he does now that America's "vital national interests" depend on the maintenance of British sea power. And how? As protection from a "German-Russian-Japanese coalition against the Atlantic world." At that time Collectivism had not risen to fret Walter. He was simply out to save the British Fleet, which had police value for an "Atlantic world" dominated by United States finance. Now he has to save it all over again. This time, however, more is at stake. Britain's police value rises with every stirring of the empire's oppressed —500,000,000 of them. Besides, a Britain saved by US capital will promise to honor and obey with double fervor. Of course the empire and fleet may fall to pieces before Mr. Lippmann can speed us to the rescue; but Walter has already made plans for picking up the pieces. We will "come to an agreement" with Canada and British possessions in this hemisphere. And what's left of the fleet can probably be "induced to take refuge in our harbors." We can use it, too; its police

Geoffrey David

"News item: Mr. Willkie will run his campaign from the rural town of Rushville, Ind."

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value will, for example, supplement the Yankee gunboats loitering around the shores of our more restless good neighbors.

In any case we shall need a two-ocean navy, total conscription, and lots of "authority and discipline." We must abandon our frivolous concern about hours and wages, cut down on food——Did somebody say "fascism"? Don't be silly. "Military regimentation," yes. "Dictatorship," undoubtedly. But this will be to *fight* fascism! Besides, it is a dictatorship in charge of real business men, with the politicians put in their place. "Politicians," as defined by Mr. Lippmann, are a low order of meddlers. They muckrake, call names, and consult the voters before making a decision. Many are potential collectivists, who interfere with the free market by their social planning and restrictions on business. How different from the scientific, disinterested Hoovers and Willkies! It was the politicians, Mr. Lippmann explained in an article published by *Harper's* in 1930, who thwarted the "fine purposes and high abilities" of Herbert Hoover. A great pity: for in electing an Engineer to the White House the American people had hoped that at last politics would be conducted by "the kind of intelligence which has produced such excellent motor cars, airplanes, and refrigerators."

Mr. Lippmann, it should be said, was more impressed by the possibilities of a Hoover, by the ideology which had inspired the Hoover myth, than by the man himself. In fact he regarded the President's helplessness in politics as a "peculiar weakness" and even reminded him that controversy was "the living tissue of popular government." Roosevelt, and in particular the NRA, was more to the columnist's taste. It was when this New Deal "dictatorship" really got under way that Walter became disillusioned. Withdrawing to his insulated penthouse—which, according to a *Herald Tribune* promotion pamphlet of 1931, is adorned with autographed photographs of a British ambassador and a Morgan partner—Mr. Lippmann turned out scores of columns and a book on the perils of gradual collectivism. The autographed photographs must have been a consolation. It's possible that he lit candles to them. Anyway, the miracle is now about to come to pass. The kind of intelligence that lives by the production of motor cars and airplanes is now enthroned in Washington; the kind that sells the electricity for frigidaires may soon be there. Meanwhile there's Mr. Roosevelt, who has proved that at least he knows a good motor-car-producer intelligence when he sees one.

No wonder that Walter is tremulous, even jittery at times. Occasionally he seems less the prospective bride than the oldtime movie heroine who lay bound on the tracks while a locomotive bore down on her from one direction and her lover raced to the rescue from another. The locomotive in this case is Politics. Mr. Lippmann was a little put out by Roosevelt's decision to seek reelection. Just prior to the Democratic Convention he advised the President that it wouldn't be necessary. After all we now had Willkie, a strictly non-political parcel straight from Wall Street; for *two* "great popular leaders" with an understanding of Events to compete against each other was almost more than the free market could bear. Mr. Roosevelt didn't listen, and look what's happening now: Politicians worrying about "what the voters are thinking and feeling" instead of looking out for the British Navy. Political leaders afraid to "call capital to the colors . . . to enlist labor . . . ask the necessary sacrifices of hours, wages, and peacetime restrictions . . . afraid of the voting consumers." Defense orders held up because the administration is scared to lengthen working hours during an election year—which is silly, of course, since Mr. Willkie is *not* the kind of man who will "attack a labor policy suited to the emergency." Demagogues calling Wendell names like "Insull." They may even revive the class struggle—after Walter himself has buried it —and if they do, Mr. Ogden Reid's "Great Elucidator" will simply die.

While these apprehensions show in Lippmann's column, they do not ruffle the smug surface flow. There seems to be a division of labor between *Herald Tribune* columnists. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays Miss Thompson terrifies; on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, Mr. Lippmann prescribes. True, he views with alarm first—but calmly, reasonably. The prescriptions are not original, being derived from Churchill and Knudsen, but Walter wraps them in his own peculiar brand of assurance. Then, as often as not, he calls upon the American people to swallow them. And who are the "American people"? Well, that depends. Those who recognize the worth of Wendell Willkie become "great masses of honest and patriotic citizens." Those who find Walter's prescriptions more terrifying than Dorothy's prophecies are "voting consumers"—who consume too damn much, if you ask Walter.

On the whole, "Today and Tomorrow" has fewer of the moral cliches that stud most columns these days. Lippmann inclines more to the "realistic" or "thoughtful" approach. Once or twice he has sounded as though he were talking to Thomas Lamont during one of his yachting trips with that gentleman. On June 6 last Mr. Lippmann urged us to conduct "friendly negotiations" (sweet name for appeasement) with Japan, to avoid a war that would be "suicidal" for both countries. We had enough on our hands in the western hemisphere, Walter argued. And Japan was "already suffering from the Chinese war." With which quaint phrase Mr. Lippmann expresses the sum total of his interest in China, whose people have been waging a democratic struggle against fascist invasion for more than three years. Of course China is not part of the "Atlantic world"; and a war between Japan and this country might encourage the USSR to "strike . . . at the very heart of the Japanese empire." So—to save fascist Nippon from Soviet socialism, let's sacrifice 400,000,000 democratic people in China! Here is the essence of Mr. Lippmann's "realism"—which he applies, with less candor, to all other regions of the world.

It is also the realism of the *Herald Tribune*. Dealing with the most volcanic elements of world imperialism, Lippmann preserves—despite a growing urgency—the coolness of that paper's faith in capitalist strength. But the faith was not created, it was only symbolized, by his welcome into the *Herald Tribune* family. The liberal yesterday of Lippmann's youth is too far past even to echo in "Today and Tomorrow." The man who once worked with Lincoln Steffens, who was a college friend of Jack Reed, now slaps Wendell Willkie's wrist—because Mr. Willkie permits "politicians" in his party to disturb the industrialists' unity of Roosevelt and/or Willkie. The man who once collaborated on a pamphlet exposing the New York *Times'* falsehoods about the USSR worries only about whether Franklin or Wendell is the better gendarme against socialism. Whoever the victor on November 5, he is assured in advance of Walter's appreciation. Mr. Lippmann does not only "represent Wall Street," as Steffens predicted in 1931 he would; he works both sides of it. BARBARA GILES.

Big Brother

PROBABLY you've never heard of the Research Institute of America, Inc. Certainly you would have no use for it. But the Research Institute is an interesting outfit. It acts (for a reasonable fee) as a sort of big brother to employers harassed by legal impedimenta like the wage-hour law or labor's right to organize. Specifically the institute gives advice on how "New Deal measures" can be turned to "excellent business advantage." We quote from one of its letters offering guest membership to a prospective customer:

> As a guest member, you will receive the same confidential reports and recommendations that are now being sent to institute members such as the Texas Company, Armour, Hood Rubber, Curtiss-Wright, Standard Brands, Chase Brass, and more than nineteen thousand other commercial leaders.
>
> You will get definite recommendations on:
>
> *How to cut wage-and-hour costs* to a minimum, without the danger of a complaint being filed against you.
>
> *How to avoid labor disputes,* how to keep labor on the job without unreasonable concessions.
>
> *How to "get the jump" on competition* through special discounts and price concessions in both buying and selling activities.
>
> *How to save federal taxes,* and how to lower social security costs.
>
> You can't of course, make a profit from *all* New Deal laws, but these specific recommendations will certainly *prove* that many New Deal measures can be turned to excellent *business advantage.* And I am convinced that during the thirty-day guest period you'll get enough *practical help* from the institute's reports and analyses to make the membership fee insignificant in proportion to your *opportunities for profit.*

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In Socialist America

Corliss Lamont replies to readers' questions on his recent series of articles on how socialist planning would operate in the US. The farmer, the small business man want to know.

QUESTION. You claim that only under socialism is it possible to abolish unemployment. Yet according to reliable experts the Nazis have also eliminated unemployment. How do you explain that?

I have yet to see reliable figures showing that the Nazis have completely eliminated unemployment in Germany. But granting that they have come close to doing so, there can be no doubt that the methods used were chiefly a huge armament program and the drafting of millions of men into the fighting forces. In fact, it has been the armaments race over the past decade that in *every* capitalist power of Europe has been responsible for such economic recovery as has taken place.

Imperialist armaments and imperialist war, however, aside from their dreadful moral aspects, sooner or later result in intensifying all the contradictions of capitalism and must be considered as very specious and temporary means of solving unemployment or any other economic problem. Moreover, the tremendous armaments programs that the capitalist countries of Europe have been putting across in the past few years will end up in disastrous governmental bankruptcy or inflation.

Socialism, as can be proved by the example of the Soviet Union, abolishes unemployment *permanently* through nationwide economic planning that adjusts consumers' demand to producers' output and keeps the entire economy functioning harmoniously. Such functioning is not dependent on the economic stimulus of armaments, which a socialist country regards as a necessary evil that diverts production from intrinsically worthwhile goods.

Q. In your first article on socialism in the USA, you speak of socialism's "ensuring a job to everyone." Can you enlarge on this point, with perhaps some statistical evidence that the "progressively shorter hours of work," which you mention in another passage in the same article, will make possible the absorption of all unemployed? At first sight, it seems possible that the tremendous advances of science and technique that might come about under socialism might cancel out many of the jobs created by the increase of production.

It is under capitalism, not socialism, that the tremendous advances of technique "cancel out many of the jobs created by the increase in production" and constitute such a specter for capitalists that they suppress new inventions by the thousand. Socialist planning means that the masses of the people always possess sufficient purchasing power to buy back the goods they produce and that therefore there can be no such thing as "over-production." Accordingly, the fear of scientific invention disappears and labor-saving devices result in raising the living standard for all.

Of course even a people that is highly developed in an economic sense has a potential capacity for absorbing consumers' goods that approaches infinity. But in any case, the nationwide controls of socialism make certain that no new invention is introduced until definite plans are drawn up either for the voluntary transfer to other jobs of workers displaced by it; for a corrective reduction in the working day in whatever industry is involved; or for the utilization of the same number of workers during the same hours of work for the much greater productive capacity that the invention renders possible. I don't think that statistics are necessary to prove these points, though there are plenty available from the experience of the Soviet Union.

Q. I am a small business man in a capitalist world. I should like to continue in business even under socialism. Will that be tolerated? As I understand it there are no small business men in Soviet Russia.

It is true that, with the increasing development of socialism in the Soviet Union, practically no small business men are now left, though up till recently there were not a few small business men operating in the retail trade. However, several millions of independent individuals working on their own and not employed by any governmental concern function at present in Russia and in all probability will continue to do so. These include considerable numbers of handicraftsmen, farmers, fishermen, teachers, authors, journalists, actors, artists, and intellectuals.

Though socialism in the United States and other countries will certainly not mechanically imitate the Soviet brand, there can be no doubt that socialism everywhere will tend to eliminate eventually small business men as well as big. But you will be able "to continue in business" under socialist planning as an administrator in some form of socialized enterprise. And I hazard the guess that you will do a great deal better, in the sense

G. Mandell

"After all, Pierpont, you might have just turned Earl Browder off!"

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of achieving security, a higher standard of life, and a position fully worthy of your talents, in socialist business than in your present capitalist business.

Q. You say that certain public corporations will exist under socialism. If they operate successfully, they will naturally make a profit. What will become of this profit?

In a socialist America, as I see it, the US Treasury Department, together with the state bank and its numerous branches, will function as a great central pool for the national income. This it will do, not only through taxation of socialist business concerns and of individuals, but also through receiving a substantial share of whatever surpluses (which you refer to as "profits") that the different businesses succeed in accumulating. A considerable proportion of such surpluses, however, will be retained by the factory or other unit earning them and will be used locally for expansion, improvements, or social benefits.

These surpluses which economic enterprises build up under socialism are mainly a bookkeeping device. Socialist business is run, not for the sake of making profits, but in order to provide goods and services to the entire community. The most convenient method of accounting and distribution, however, demands the mechanism of buying and selling, of money and prices. Furthermore, identifiable surpluses are necessary so that our socialist planners can set aside a certain proportion of the nation's income in order to meet depreciation and obsolescence, to expand the means of production, and to provide for social services. The greatest advantage of this socialist financial system in general is that it enables the public authorities to distribute and redistribute the nation's capital resources according to the needs of the economy as a whole, transferring the surpluses acquired in one sector of business to less developed and less lucrative sectors.

Q. As a pharmacist I should like to know whether a socialistic system would place me in the same wage group as a truck driver. If I should receive a higher wage, then where is this idea of socialist equality?

Contrary to popular understanding in America, wage equality has never been an aim under socialism. Because it is impossible for an entire people to rid themselves overnight of the psychological habits acquired under capitalism, a socialist society, while eliminating the more extreme variations in wage and salary scales, will in general render to each individual a return commensurate with the amount and skill of his work. I could not say on this basis whether a pharmacist would receive a higher wage than a truck driver, unless I knew something about the precise categories of pharmacist and truck driver concerned.

Only in that far off communist stage of society which gradually evolves out of socialism do Marxists envisage the actualization of their ideal formula: "From everyone according to his capacities, to everyone according to his needs." But although this implies an *approximate* equality in compensation, it allows for a certain amount of variation due to the fact that everyone's *needs* are not the same. As a practical matter, socialist planning in America will mean such a tremendous boost in the general standard of living, with every family soon attaining a minimum income of $5,000 per year, that comparative wage scales will rapidly assume less and less importance in the mind of the average worker.

Q. Under socialism would one be able to own a modest house or perhaps a family-size farm?

One of the most widespread misunderstandings about socialism is that it rules out the owning of personal property such as houses and automobiles, furniture and fountain pens. Yet the chief productive aim of the new system is precisely that everyone should have an abundance of all sorts of personal possessions, including so-called luxuries. The point is that personally owned property must be for consumption, for use, for enjoyment; only private property in the means of production and distribution, property that is held for the purpose of making a profit and exploiting others, is collectivized under socialism.

So of course one will be able to own a house, in city or country, in the coming socialist society, though the huge residential estates of the wealthy will undoubtedly be broken up. I might add, however, that the formal ownership of either a house or of land will seem far less important in an economy that guarantees economic security to all at every stage of their lives. And the development of beautiful and spacious apartment houses under socialism may well prove so successful that most people will prefer an apartment to a house. Even under capitalism many people in urban communities prefer apartments to houses.

I am not sure exactly how big you conceive "a family-size farm" to be; but certainly under socialism there will be no objection to individuals or families cultivating on the side vegetables or fruit in moderately sized garden plots or keeping a cow and some chickens. The produce of such farming, however, must be consumed by the family and not sold for a profit. Naturally, too, it is absurd to imagine that in a socialist society people will be prevented from growing flowers and puttering around in their gardens during the long evenings of spring and summer. But of course the production of the great staple crops and foodstuffs of a country will be collectivized in America's new order and integrated into the nation's regular Four-Year Plans.

Q. As a Pennsylvania farmer I was disappointed that you failed to say anything about farmers in your articles on socialism. I have read a great deal about the wonderful things they have done for the farmers in Russia, but I'm not sure just how it would work in the United States. Would a socialist government collectivize all the farmers? Would they do it right away or gradually as they did in Russia? Would the socialist government tell us how much to plant?

Since my articles were designed to give a rather general view of how socialism would work, I did not attempt to go into the particular problems of any one category of the American people. Naturally, the farmers constitute an especially important section of the population.

In a socialist USA, agriculture will in the main be collectivized and run cooperatively for the benefit of all the farmers and the nation as a whole. There are many farming districts, particularly in the rolling country of the South and Midwest, that are admirably suited to collectivization. On the other hand, in the more rugged and rocky parts of a region like New England, collectivization will be less easy; and in such sections a certain number of individual farmers, linked together in a system of cooperative marketing and controlled firmly by law, will probably remain.

Collectivization in the United States will be carried out gradually; but the vast mechanization already existent in agriculture here as well as the comparatively high cultural level of the farmers will make the establishment of socialism in farming less difficult in some ways than it was in the Soviet Union. The Agricultural Division of the National Planning Commission, together with the subordinate agencies of that division and relying upon the counsel and cooperation of farmers all over the country, will draw up plans for agriculture and designate broad yearly production goals and limits for the main crops and the main regions.

Q. As a Catholic it seems that my church is justifiably against any socialistic ideas because they abolish religious freedom. What have you to say to that?

It is positively not true that religious freedom will be abolished under socialism. What *will* happen is that all religions will be put on an equal basis with one another; that special privileges for the church, such as exemption from taxation, will be revoked; and that the legal and other discriminations against non-religious people will be eliminated. While the philosophy of socialism is definitely anti-supernatural and humanist, in the sense of making man's welfare on this earth the great end of ethical endeavor, the different religions will have a perfectly fair chance to win converts to their philosophy and to carry on worship in their own way.

One of the chief reasons why Americans are inclined to think that socialism will put an end to religious freedom is the false propaganda concerning the religious situation in the Soviet Union. It should be remembered that in *czarist* Russia the official and government-supported Greek Orthodox Church was extremely active in persecuting all minority religious groups, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, Hebrew or Buddhist or Mohammedan. Today *all* religions in the USSR are on an absolutely equal basis. And though local excesses against the Church undoubtedly occurred in the first tumultuous years of the Revolution, the Soviet government has from the start upheld the principles of freedom of conscience and religious worship, which are guaranteed in the constitution. At the same time, heeding the example of countries like the United States, it early decreed the separation of church and state and also took control of the schools away from religious organizations.

It remains to be said that many Christians at the present time are finding in the movement toward a socialist society the main hope of fulfilling their ideals. It is clear that the teachings of Jesus about the beauty of love, the abundant life, peace on earth, and the brotherhood of man cannot conceivably be fulfilled except under socialism. Many of the most effective and loyal radicals today are ministers and other religious persons. And it is quite possible for such people sincerely to believe in and work for the social and economic program of socialism without necessarily subscribing to its philosophic tenets. CORLISS LAMONT.

Remaining questions arising from Corliss Lamont's articles will be answered by the author in a forthcoming issue.

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Strictly Personal by RUTH McKENNEY

Elementary, My Dear Sherwood

MR. ROBERT SHERWOOD made a radio address last week to Canada and the British empire, assuring the boys that we Americans were 100 percent behind Winston Churchill and ol' Nev Chamberlain in their gallant fight for what Mr. Sherwood so aptly calls the "divinity in man."

Now of course I guess I shouldn't go around beefing about my betters. After all, Mr. Sherwood is one of the big-money boys around Broadway and points west, such as Hollywood; and the same, I am the first to admit (with tears in my eyes), cannot be said of me. *Au contraire,* to put it crudely. Just the same, the cat looked at the king, and as an ordinary, if down-at-the-heels, American, I like to think I have a perfect right to tell Mr. Sherwood, "Ah, there, Robert, speak for yourself, old thing!"

For although I know it isn't fashionable around the upper crust intellectual circles to mention it, I'm afraid Mr. Sherwood is wrong. Terribly wrong. We Americans are *not* prepared to "fight to the death" for Mr. Winston Churchill.

At least I don't think so. And here's why.

Mr. Sherwood's eloquent radio address practically marks the climax of the fancy dithering around the New York cocktail party circles. We have had Mr. Bruce Bliven and Mr. Malcolm Cowley and Mr. Archibald MacLeish—and lots more. The *New Republic* and the *Nation* have been crowded to the gills for weeks with the Max Lerners and assorted other come-on-out-and-die-boys-the-weather's-fine literary fellows.

HEP, HEP!

So what are all these elegant writers turning out of their typewriters these days—and I'm not excepting L. Mumford and Mrs. Roosevelt, sometime liberals. Well, Mr. Sherwood more or less summed it up for them. It seems that England is a democracy. And England is currently fighting for democracy. We are also a democracy. We have a common tradition with England (on the battlefields of Gettysburg and Waterloo, Sherwood says). Therefore we should hep, hep, right face, and do some plain and fancy fighting for the glory of that sceptered isle, that England.

To which we simple folk who don't get around among the better circles can only ask: where have I heard it before? The answer is brief: 1917.

But don't think they haven't thought of that, our bellicose intellectuals with the Union Jack flying from their straw boaters and God Bless America embroidered on their neckties. Mr. MacLeish and his former boss, Mr. Henry Luce, are only too acutely aware that your garden variety American remembers the last war as one big, long double-cross, the champion shell game in all history. So they've all gone to work to resell World War I. True, Mr. Wilson himself, inconveniently enough for Mr. Sherwood, called the late great conflict a "purely commercial war" after it was all over, but a little thing like the truth never stood in Mr. Luce's way, or Archibald MacLeish's either. And if buttering up the last war seems a high price to pay for a soft job in Washington, remember Mr. MacLeish is a poet and an expert at self-hypnosis. He probably believes every word he's been saying lately—which must hand Mr. Luce, who at least is no dope, a laugh.

ELEGANT LANGUAGE

For, to escape the general outbreak of idiocy, let's take a long, cold look at the elegant language my fellow writers have been so freely tossing around these last few months. Let's remind ourselves, to be exact, of the few fundamental scientific ideas the boys and girls have lost in the shuffle of "our common tradition," and etcetera. Of course Messrs. Cowley and Lerner and Sherwood also used to kick these ideas around, in the spirit of good clean fun, but evidently most of our American big-fry intellectuals can shed their integrity like a snake passing up his last year's winter coat. Comes the war hysteria and our big bold intellectuals fold their tents and steal away to the bosom of the gentlemen who pull the strings and pay the subsidies and hand out jobs and buy the $4.40 tickets. I wish they could silently steal away, but you know the *New Republic* crowd—they can't even resign from anything in less than five thousand words.

So what's all this about democracy and Waterloo and Gettysburg and such? First of all, as Mr. Max Lerner must certainly remember from his so recently dim past, the bourgeois democratic state is a dictatorship of capital. I'm no great political scientist, but I've spent the last year studying the following interesting books: the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,* Lenin's *Imperialism,* Lenin's *State and Revolution,* and Lenin's *Left Wing Communism.* As I say, I was never any great shakes as a scientist, but certain simple ideas penetrate even to my sluggish brain. And the one about the state sticks to the old gray matter.

The bourgeois democratic state is a dictatorship of capital. So, in fairly easy times, the Bank of England and Wall Street prefer not to show their hand too clearly. In times of crisis the owners and operators of the present system step forward. In the United States they are busy ruling the Communists off the ballot in the name of democracy and in England they are busy killing and starving and maiming and bombing people, also in the name of democracy. Elementary, my dear Mr. Sherwood.

Incidentally, only the author of that fantastic play, *Day Must Fall,* or *Night Mustn't Come,* or whatever he called it, could throw around Waterloo and Gettysburg in the same breath. I suppose the conscript armies of the Bank of England were fighting to free the slaves at Waterloo and Abraham Lincoln was engaged in a struggle to capture the balance of power in continental Europe? And if the Northern industrialists finally betrayed the Negro of the South after the Civil War, at least the Battle of Gettysburg did not lead to a Versailles or Treaty of Vienna.

Well, anyway. After a brief munching over of the nature of the capitalist state, we may now pass on to imperialism. Mr. Sherwood is probably so lost in the jungle of his own fine phrases that he has forgotten that the British empire fights not for the "divinity of man" but for the preservation of the greatest single prison of nations in the world. And Hitler and the German imperialists fight to become the new wardens. I think the people of India and Africa may well be indifferent to the interesting question: Hitler or the dinner-clothes-in-the-jungle boys?

IMPERIALISM WILL OUT

Or to put it another way: no matter how thin you slice it, it's still an imperialist war, fought for imperialist gains. This "divinity of man" stuff may be okay for Mr. Sherwood, but our own babies in Wall Street don't waste time trifling around with fancy phrases and other such luxuries, and the same may be said for hard-headed and -hearted Churchill. The gentlemen imperialists of the United States mean to take this country into war, all right, but if in the meantime they can snag off a little British trade in South America, whoopla. And Mr. Churchill loves the United States, but he's not past (even in this moment of "agony") giving us the old one-two in the Orient.

It is left for the court fools to cover up the despicable game of the world imperialists with the soft words and the elegant phrases. But I think that the English and the American people won't swallow the guff a second time. In London the people are moving. And in America there is the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

I say, Sherwood old fellow, you jolly well speak for yourself!

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Bill Green: Schoolmaster

The teachers went to Buffalo to chart a program for educational defense; Mr. Green preaches disunity.

As THE war crisis deepens, two courses of action for American educators are more and more clearly defined. Our teachers may either succumb to the demand of reaction that the school system be harnessed to the military machine or they may stand by their traditional faith that the defense of education is an essential part of the defense of democracy. These are opposite courses; they cannot be reconciled at any point. For if we once accept the view that the school is properly an instrument of war policy, we must abandon our conviction that the school is the ultimate support, as it is the ultimate testing ground, of tolerance, equality, and intellectual independence.

The proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers at Buffalo, N. Y., must be interpreted in this context. The future of the federation must be judged in terms of its decision to pursue one or the other of the courses open to education: obedience to the forces advocating martial dictatorship or the unyielding defense of education.

BROTHER GREEN

If Brother William Green ever read the constitution of the AFT, his opening address to the convention showed that he neither understood nor respected it. Brother Green ordered the teachers' union to "clean house," and he left no doubt in anybody's mind that a spick-and-span organization would no longer be occupied by teachers who have the gumption to resist the most offensive of his personal policies. The constitution of the AFT is fortunately more democratic than Brother Green. Article 3, section 9, declares, "No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief." Green's threat that the union must get rid of all its progressives (he calls all progressives "Communists"), or else, is in effect a command that the federation suspend its constitution. To many of the delegates to the convention Green's speech came as a shock. They were accustomed to Red-baiting attacks on their union activities from the fascist-minded press; they were unprepared for identical attacks from the head of the American Federation of Labor. They had come from far and wide to hear some kind of program to safeguard their security and their profession; they were greeted with a threatening speech which was entirely innocent of a constructive policy. And the address by President George S. Counts was equally disappointing to those who were looking for progressive leadership through the hysteria of the moment.

Determined to resist the splitting tactics of William Green and his followers, and anxious to direct the convention to a realistic program of educational objectives, a group of progressive leaders launched an Educational Defense Program which it presented to the delegates. The program was endorsed by nine vice presidents of the federation (there are fifteen in all): Robenia Anthony of Springfield, Mass., Ray E. Abercrombie of Cincinnati, Charles J. Hendley of New York, Dean Ned H. Dearborn of New York University, Gertrude Luehning of Palo Alto, John Woodruff of Goose Creek, Tex., Robert Iglehart of Seattle, Mary Foley Grossman of Philadelphia, and Doxey Wilkerson of Howard University. In addition, the Educational Defense Program was sponsored by many outstanding educators and by a majority of the delegates actually present on the convention floor (as distinguished from absent delegates, represented by proxies in the voting, who because of their absence had no opportunity to consider this specific program).

Approximately three hundred members of the Educational Defense Committee met during the convention in open caucus. The program was revised from the floor and unanimously approved. A slate was nominated to run for office and to carry out the program. It was headed by John J. De Boer, prominent Chicago educator. The vice presidents named above were supported for reelection. The objectives of the group were actually nothing but a reformulation, in the light of new conditions, of the basic principles for which the federation has always stood. The Educational Defense Committee clearly asserted itself on behalf of the second course which I have mentioned.

The newspapers have truthfully reported the convention in one respect. The candidates of the Educational Defense Committee were defeated by a slate headed by Professor Counts. Far from taking a decisive stand on the problems confronting the educational system, Counts and his supporters adopted an appeasement policy which must lead to disaster if pursued without correction. Green had told the delegates that if they "cleaned house," a million teachers would come flocking into the union, and this was the campaign slogan of the Counts group, supported by a coalition of conservatives in Chicago, the Googe group in the South (Brother Googe is Green's "personal representative" in the union), Trotskyites, William Allen White committee enthusiasts, and Dubinsky men like Mark Starr of the ILGWU. To prove that the union was not "Communist-dominated" (as if they would have been elected if that were the case!), Red-baiting was freely indulged in, not only in the corridors but on the convention floor. Refusing to abide by the majority decision of delegates actually present, this group twice called for a roll-call vote on resolutions, a device which consumed so much time that it was finally necessary to adjourn the convention before it had begun to grapple with key educational issues. So hasty were members of this group in their desire to lump the Soviet Union with Nazi Germany that they did not have time, in their resolution, to recall that Spain, France, and Japan are fascist dictatorships, and that if the professional enemies of education here have their way, America will also be a fascist dictatorship. A resolution condemning our involvement in the war, supported by a clear majority on the floor, was strenuously resisted by some members of this group, who proposed to take an extra day for a roll-call vote.

It is unnecessary here to summarize the heated debate, the backstairs gossip, the parliamentary bickering and maneuvering which kept this convention from doing much of the business for which it was called. The important point is that one large group in the union moved vigorously and consistently toward a program of educational defense, while another group moved dangerously toward the kind of program which is indeed likely to appease the critics of education because it incorporates so many of their arguments. Despite superficial evidence to the contrary, and despite the disappointing results of the elections, there can be little doubt, I think, that the majority of the membership is prepared to resist the tide of retrenchment and discrimination which threatens our school system. The Educational Defense Committee, which in one sense lost the elections, won the victory in another and perhaps more fundamental sense. For in its emphasis upon a positive program it impressed upon all the delegates the real job that lies ahead.

NO MOOD FOR SERVILITY

"We believe," declares the preamble to the AFT constitution, "that servility breeds servility, and that if the schools are to produce free, unafraid men and women, American citizens of the highest type, the teachers must live and work in an atmosphere of freedom and self-respect." The alert teachers of America are in no mood for servility. Neither William Green nor any of his spokesmen in this organization can dictate the split in the ranks of the union which they have long sought. Nor can they for long succeed in sidetracking the union, by Red-baiting and war scares, from its basic educational and trade-union objectives. Unity on behalf of these objectives is the need and desire of the membership. The supporters of the opposition slate to Professor Counts and the new Executive Council have demonstrated their desire for such unity, and they have pledged their critical and vigilant support of the new officers. With such unity and with such objectives the union can make a vital contribution. The reckless pursuit of splitting, of sidestepping, would inevitably lead to that intellectual conscription which the AFT was founded to combat.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

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Diktat at Vienna

THE Vienna award, by which Hungary is occupying the northeastern half of Transylvania, is obviously dictated by necessity. Germany could not afford such a center of perpetual irritation in the most uncertain phase of her war with Britain. Hungarian-Rumanian strife might have offered the occasion for unforseeable upheavals; apart from the fact that the axis powers clearly need—more urgently every day—the grain, timber, and oil which they derive from both Hungary and Rumania.

Hitler dreams of building a hierarchical order in Europe. Mussolini has been called the Latin gauleiter. Dr. Alfred Rosenberg has projected a Baltic-German union for the Scandinavian countries. Now landlord-ridden Hungary emerges more clearly than after Munich as a gendarme state, which in the proper rank of subjugation will subjugate, for the German master, the Danubian and Slovak peoples.

The cession of Transylvania marks the full eclipse of Anglo-French influence on the Continent. It was by the Treaty of Trianon, a corollary of Versailles, that Rumania grabbed off the Transylvanian chunk of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Rumania's own plight now merely emphasizes that none of these states was ever independent of one or another combination of great imperialist powers; none will be, so long as imperialism lasts.

The repercussions in Rumania disclose a more general dissolution of the entire social fabric; once again the presumed defenders of the nation—nobles, kings, and generals—have, at the close of a long, ignoble period of bartering the people's heritage, proven themselves helpless against predatory powers, and have become accomplices of those powers. The demonstrations in Transylvania against the settlement, the popular anger in Rumania, are not simply the backwash of chauvinism; they represent the deep inner crisis of the entire bourgeois-landlord social order. Again in this corner of Europe that axiom, which is true everywhere, may assert itself: only the popular unity of the people, led by the conscious working class, can defend the nation.

The press is again full of speculations about the USSR. The cruder propaganda charges that the USSR brought pressure upon King Carol to come to terms with Hitler. The more subtle and contradictory stories insist that the Vienna award is directed against growing Soviet influence in the Balkans. The border incursions by Rumanian soldiers near Dorohoi earlier in the week, for which the USSR demanded apologies, seem to us either accidents, or else part of King Carol's last minute effort to improve his position at Vienna by appearing hostile to the USSR.

The notion that the Soviet Union would fear a common border with Hungary does not hold water, since the USSR has a common border with Germany herself—a border whose exact demarcation was defined by treaty a year ago this month and again ratified the very day of the Vienna award. It is true, of course, that the Hungarians have now extended themselves along the strategic crescent of the Carpathian Mountains, across which stands the Red Army. But this army has been standing there in part since last September, in part since the occupation of northern Bucovina.

Whatever the future holds, one thing is clear: the Vienna award seems likely to be less durable than the Treaty of Trianon. Neither German nor British imperialism is capable of solving the age-old problems of the Danube.

Taking Canada Over

NO ONE knows what the Canadian-American "defense" commission is talking about. Mayor LaGuardia, its leading American member, gets his picture taken every other day, but his many press interviews say very little. Altogether without preliminary discussion in Congress or anywhere else in public, the administration is acquiring bases from Newfoundland to British Guiana on the South American coast. It becomes clearer now that the Havana conference paved the way for this sudden elasticity in the Monroe Doctrine. It was at Havana that the State Department chilled at President Batista's suggestion that foreign possessions in the hemisphere be given their freedom. Instead the United States finagled the right to achieve unilateral acquisition of the British bases and Colonel Donovan was sent to clinch the deal with Churchill. It seems clearer now that the primary American purpose is to prepare for the eventuality of a British defeat, providing harbors for whatever part of the British Navy the Americans can grab in the "snatch-as-snatch-can" with Hitler. Washington informants tell us further that the acquisition of these bases, especially in the Caribbean, places Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, and all Central America at the mercy of American planes and gunboats. Negotiations with Canada are presumably taking place among equals, "good neighbors." Actually, of course, the pressure of American investments in Canada is such that even if the native ruling class in Canada plus the intensely colonial-minded "empire loyalists" feel uncomfortable in the tender embrace of the southern colossus, they can't do very much about it. In this connection, we found an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune* for August 28 significant:

> Harbors and forts and airfields, [says this Wall Street organ] are only a beginning. The whole of Canada is itself a base . . . and the maintenance of Canada against potential attack goes beyond leases on this or that spot. Military collaboration, economic and financial collaboration, the adjustment of production schedules—none of these is excluded, or can be, if the job is to be done properly.

Pause to consider what "collaboration" means in the existing relations of forces, and you will appreciate how openly and obviously American imperialism is planning aggression in different parts of the hemisphere, Canada included.

Sugared Tax Pill

TO MAKE the draft pill seem more palatable to the American people, congressional leaders decided to rush through the so-called excess profits tax bill. The Ways and Means Committee hurried the measure to the House floor, where it was passed without a record vote. Wealth, so the demagogues would have you believe, is to pay its share toward national defense.

As you study the ninety-six pages of the text, your eyes rest upon a tax scale which pyramids, after a $5,000 exemption, from 25 percent on the first $20,000 of excess profits to 50 percent on all over $500,000. So far—good. But even the hypocritical legislators of the Ways and Means Committee confessed that it would raise only from $160,000,000 to $300,000,000, compared to a defense appropriation which amounts to billions of dollars.

The reason becomes plain as one analyzes how the bill actually helps make higher profits for the steel, munitions, shipbuilding, aircraft, and other war industries. It suspends the Vinson-Trammel act, which places an 8 percent profit limitation upon manufacturers of naval vessels, and army and navy aircraft. Shipbuilders and manufacturers of ship machinery, now limited to 10 percent profit, may charge off excess profits from sums paid back to the Maritime Commission, a sizable amount. Corporations earning 10 percent on their first $500,000 invested capital are exempt. Airlines with government contracts are exempt. Domestic corporations with foreign markets up to 95 percent of total business are exempt.

Great corporations which are receiving large contracts have been shown special consideration. Where they are required to invest in plant expansion, they may amortize the cost of construction over a five-year period, deducting this sum annually from profits, which, since they are handling government contracts, are guaranteed. After five years they thus own a new and shiny plant, paid for by the people of the United States with tax-free money.

This was the bill demanded by corporate interests before they would accept government defense orders. It is a bill obviously designed to guarantee excess profits, not to tax them.

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On the Fascist Front

LAST week two congressmen, Dickstein of New York and Patman of Texas, accused their colleague Martin Dies of failing to delve into the workings of fascist organizations. Patman said Dies had virtually ignored his charges that Carl Byoir, publicist, was and still is a Nazi agent—indeed, said Patman, the Dies committee had whitewashed Byoir following a superficial one-man, typically one-sided hearing.

Mr. Dies met this criticism with several counterplays. He publicly absolved, with all the pomp of an arbitrary ruler of public opinion, certain film stars of the "taint" of "Communism." He hinted that he would look into the Emergency Peace Mobilization. Next he asked for another $100,000 to continue his elaborate transcontinental political meanderings. And finally he wrote to Messrs. Roosevelt and Willkie urging them to approve the outlawing of the Communist Party.

You will recall that WPA legislation gave project heads the power of dismissing "Communists and members of the Nazi Bund." As was to be expected, few but Communists, trade unionists, and sympathizers have felt the ax. Last week election rolls in New York were scanned by Col. B. B. Somervell's agents and one hundred WPA workers who registered as Communists in 1936 were summarily dismissed.

This action was another aspect of the nationwide drive to deprive sections of the American electorate of the constitutional right to suffrage. In Georgia, Tennessee, and Arizona, state officials have arbitrarily refused to certify legal nominations to the Communist Party. West Virginia and Pennsylvania newspapers published blacklists containing the names and addresses of registered voters who signed Communist nominating petitions. A majority of those thus exposed to political and economic persecution were non-Communists who signed the petitions because they wished to give a minority party the right to offer its program and candidates to the electorate. Arrests of signers and Communist candidates followed in these two states. The Cleveland *Press* and the Baltimore *Sun* also published lists of Ohio and Maryland petitioners, as the strength of anti-war sentiment aided the Communist Party in filing legal nominations in both these states.

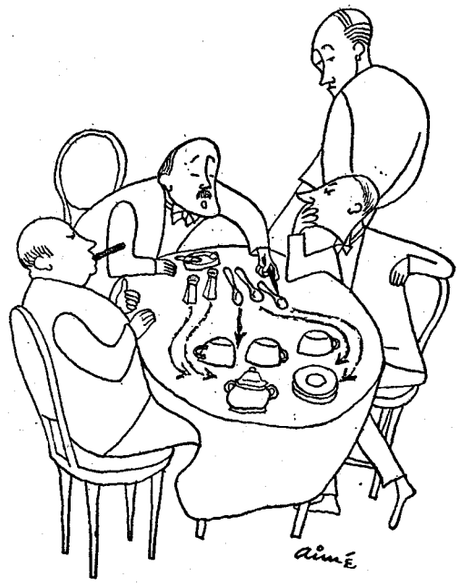
Too little publicity has been given these raids upon the vote. The daily press is calculatedly silent. Liberal weeklies, the *Nation* and the *New Republic,* are blind to infringements of the suffrage. For the plot against the ballot suits the ends of all those who approve the rush into war.

Ward-Heelers

OUR contemporary, the *New Republic,* has issued the first important pamphlet for the Democratic National Committee. Its supplement on Wendell Willkie, in last week's issue, gives the Republican candidate a very fine going-over: his early career and education are well described, his record as utility lobbyist, corporation lawyer, "front man and fixer" for the big Morgan power combine, his unscrupulous incitement against the TVA are impressively analyzed and documented. Judging by this supplement, the *New Republic* editors have certainly thrown themselves into the campaign; one can only surmise how intimate are their relations with Washington, how easy their access to the files of various administration agencies. Very probably NEW MASSES readers already have most of the reasons why they need not vote for Mr. Willkie. We find in the *New Republic's* supplement equally weighty reasons for not supporting Mr. Roosevelt. If Willkie's career epitomizes big business, what Mr. Roosevelt is doing today is defending and preserving the conditions whereby Willkie's crowd can continue their disastrous domination over American life. Our article by Julian Webb this week reveals with what abandon the administration has betrayed the nation to General Motors and the du Ponts. From all of which, we decline to choose between either candidate. There are differences between them, but why emphasize these when the identity of program is so much more decisive? There must be, and is, another choice. But then the *New Republic* would never consider a candidate who drew a four-year sentence at Mr. Roosevelt's instigation.

Roundup

ANTI-WAR: Isolationist Sen. Hiram Johnson of California got the benefit of California's anti-war vote, which won him the candidacy for renomination on three primary tickets: Republican, Democratic, and Progressive. He had five contenders on the first ticket, two on the second, and one on the third. Among the defeated was Sam ("little Dies") Yorty, who ran in both the Democratic and Republican primaries. . . . Senator Nye of North Dakota charges in a letter to the New York *Times* that the Roosevelt administration "gave the signal" for war in Europe by promising aid to Britain and France. The senator also quoted the *Times'* own military expert, Hanson W. Baldwin, to prove that a Hitler invasion of the US could not succeed. Declaring himself for adequate defense, Nye added, "Conscription is a subterfuge . . . and the Congress knows it."



"At this point Dorothy Thompson will draft the women."

REFUGEES: Ships are needed to remove 250,000 Spanish refugees now in fascist France to Mexico: the Cardenas government has arranged for their release from France and is willing to pay transportation costs. Friends of the former Spanish republic are bringing pressure on the US government to provide the ships. More pressure on the government at Vichy is needed to prevent it from carrying out a clause in its arrangement with Mexico by which the Petain-Laval crowd can deport to Spain all refugees which it labels as "criminals." . . . To this country come more refugee aristocrats as the army transport *American Legion* brings Crown Princess Martha of Norway, her three children, and seven friends—traveling as guests of FDR.

LATIN AMERICA: Sumner Welles, qualified by intensive practice in diplomatic seizure of Latin American politics for US imperialism, gets the job of representing the government on the pan-American committee to "administer" European colonies and possessions in the Americas. . . . General Almazan, defeated candidate of reaction in Mexico, is traveling "incognito" in this country to visit "unnamed places"—wherever he hopes for additional support for the armed revolt he has promised his followers. . . . Russell B. Porter of the New York *Times* has authored a spine-chiller series on "fifth columnist" meddling in Mexican politics, with wild touches about "Communazi collaboration." No mention of US and British imperialist meddling.

WAGNER ACT: 709 economists and political scientists protest the proposed Smith amendments to the Wagner act in a letter to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. . . . The NLRB is having to get along without a chairman: J. Warren Madden's term expired on August 27 and FDR has not reappointed him or named anyone to take his place. Progressives fear an attempt to cripple the board by appointing another Leiserson.

WORKERS ALLIANCE: The Workers Alliance of America, at its national convention in Chicago, elected Richard N. McKibben president. He is an Irish Catholic whose ancestors fought in the American Revolutionary War. Assisting McKibben will be the newly elected vice president, Robert Geiger of Philadelphia. Geiger, in accepting the office, said he felt that John Norton, his great-great-great-grandfather who signed the Declaration of Independence, would have been a delegate to the Workers Alliance convention if he were alive. Frank Ingram of Lansing, Mich., was reelected secretary-treasurer amid a tremendous demonstration by the delegates from all over the nation.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

Polonius and a Fabian

William Blake discusses the books by "two sociological turtles." Of Mr. Corbin in his "morass of extinct Carlyleanism" and Professor MacIver, who should have read Lenin more carefully.

LEVIATHAN AND THE PEOPLE, *by R. M. MacIver. Louisiana State University Press. $2.*

TWO FRONTIERS OF FREEDOM, *by John Corbin. Scribner's. $3.50.*

HERE are two books that vividly translate the present heart-searchings of the bourgeoisie for a reappraisal of democracy. The long series of diplomatic and military victories of the fascist states, and their dexterity in glossing over what appeared to be insuperable economic contradictions, have driven the old-line thinkers to interior defenses. True, Professor MacIver has the good sense to note the transient and inwardly disastrous nature of the fascist devices for what they are. He understands that they have been produced by a conjunction of needs and that they cannot endure outside that special set of circumstances. He even has the ingenuity to see that their breakup does not entail a restoration of the older scheme of things. But what produced the crisis that compelled a resort to fascism, what will transmute it into another order of events, of these there is no inkling. For Professor MacIver rejects the notion of class relations in production as primordial for history. By characterizing the Marxian theory as naive and oversimplified, as merely indicative, and, worse still, as containing the "virus of intolerance," he is led to condemn the Soviet Union as another "dictatorship."

JOURNALISTIC CHATTERBOX

MacIver's conclusions coincide, in this respect, with those of Mr. John Corbin, an aged Polonius, full of sententious epigrams, a stamper of the age-worn stereotypes of aristocrats picturing the democracy of the sweaty and ignorant and unstable mob as preparing them for Cæsar's meat. True, the academic carapaces of these two sociological turtles are wholly dissimilar in consistency and sheen. Mr. Corbin is a journalistic chatterbox, scattering scores of irrelevant allusions, historic, biological, and governmental, and, in a morass of extinct Carlyleanism, nibbling at the desiccated flora of Elihu Root and Joseph H. Choate. This hardshell constitutionalist once wrote an account of the epoch of 1787, accordingly it is his King Charles' head. He assures us that the Constitution of 1787 shielded us from perils analogous to fascism and Communism! Constitutional republicanism, with its checks and balances, alone of all human systems negatives democracy intelligently, without recourse to tyranny. The book abounds in gems such as that the Treaty of Versailles, with all its attendant woes, was a sop to iniquitous democracy. Presumably, then, the humane Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was a witness of the excellences of non-democracy! We learn that "coward isolationism" is a democrat's refuge, whereas we know that the "stick to your island" mentality characterized the tory brain from Jonathan Swift down to Lord North. It is perhaps true to say that there are as many misstatements in this book as there are paragraphs.

But the dog lies buried elsewhere. Mr. Corbin wishes to substitute for our delegated government a control by industrial corporations, giving due weight to ownership and management and operating by way of the *droit administratif*. This is to rehearse fascism. But it is in his monetary proposals that the fascist trend becomes obvious. He demands above all a "dynamic price policy." Now, either capitalism must reveal its present strains in inflation (of currency, credit, or debt) or by the adjustment of money prices in a nominal stability, due to an imposed stratification of class relationships, by strictly controlling the share given to the workers. Whoever demands that the state pass on reduced costs *pari passu* in prices demands the Goering-Schacht policy and no other. Petain's first move was to accept just this central feature of fascist finance.

This wretched gabbling is indicative, but Professor MacIver's liberalism is more disquieting. For this man is humane and liberal and cherishes democracy. Yet what an astonishing convergence with the wild doctrines of Corbin! MacIver believes in similar price and credit panaceas for our present discontents (he ignores relations in the sphere of production: he thinks throughout like a "consumer"); he agrees to the suspension of democracy in an emergency; and, worst of all, he denies democracy the privilege of fundamental economic change. Professor MacIver says that democracy is merely the servant of Fabian gradualism. Inch by inch, socialism is to conquer small areas, and, as the governing powers yield slowly, a transition to a newer society is conceivable. But if any party seeks to use democracy for a fundamental change in class relations, it misuses that society.

Note, then, that Professor MacIver prohibits the change of society by way of democracy. He yields to the blackmail of those who own the principal means of production. Their veto, and not the people's will, is the essence of democracy!

For the stupidest of mortals must ask what became of the gradual triumphs of Fabianism in continental Europe. What became of limitation of hours, the dole, the old-age pensions, and the other conquests of the German proletariat? Did they lead to a gradual transition into socialism or instead to a vicious attempt to reintroduce slavery in order to avoid the costs of social amelioration, as forced by the workers? Certainly the working class can glory in every limitation of hours and improvement of working conditions, but only on condition that it unfailingly sustains its historic role as the class of the future by understanding that a *leap* must take place, a complete alteration in the qualities of the bourgeois democratic state. The idea that you merely add up so many reforms to reach revolution is the most naive of political concepts. That, plus a worship of tepidity, is the outstanding vice of MacIver's book.

ON THE SOVIET UNION

Now as to the Soviet Union. Professor MacIver grants that the Soviet Union appears to differ from the "other totalitarian states" on alleged ideological ultimates, on seeming constitutional form, in international policy, and in the "still momentous fact that the Soviet state has practically abolished, instead of merely limiting, the nexus between economic wealth and political power." But "those who like the Webbs . . . point to—evidences of democracy" in the Soviet Union ignore the lack of constitutional provisions for its realization and the dictatorial rule of the "party."

In the course of MacIver's book it becomes abundantly clear that he could not recognize Soviet democracy were he granted the lantern of the Alexandrian Pharos. For he says that nobody but Rousseau and his followers holds that democracy requires that the public should apprehend and decide all actions of government. But that is precisely what Lenin did hold in his *State and Revolution*. It is in this universal activity, from the administration of production at its very source (and of its accompanying local affairs) to the control of the coordination of all production, that we seek the function of the citizen in the classless society. This total democracy can alone replace the present intervention of capitalist management in production and prepare the transition from the state to voluntary communism. The dream of Rousseau, which was expressed abstractly in a vague, *personal* egalitarianism is exactly the blueprint of Lenin (on the pattern of the *Critique of the Gotha Program*) *after* the abolition of classes. Thus was ended forever the vaporous discussion of biological equality: thus was substituted the true notion of the

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abolition of such inequalities as are due to the division of society into classes in respect of the production of wealth.

Thus democracy for the proletariat cannot mean what it means for even the enlightened liberal of the MacIver stamp. For the proletariat democracy is the first formal recognition of the right of all human beings to a voice in administration, irrespective of property. Since it is a humanist conquest, it opens up a human society, based on the real relations of men as producers and consumers, socially; it is not concerned with the mode of dividing society by imposed class exploitation. Democracy is an unlimited good because it is Protean; it permits of full human expansion. When the classless society is achieved, after a necessary period of vigilance against those who would reverse its triumphs by counter-revolution, it becomes a society concerned directly with production, not distorted by class relations. That society has unlimited free speech, and, necessarily, in the mold of that society, it will be interested in free speech, not concerning the claims of classes (any more than modern society has free debate on how to detect and punish witches and sorcerers), but concerning problems of adjusting production to human needs. Such free speech has other subjects than that which we now call by that term, but it is infinitely higher.

Professor MacIver thinks that Marxism is too dogmatic, sows hate between classes, and is too contemptuous of its adversaries. He is wrong. Marxism alone interprets the adversary: knows why he acts as he does and seeks to sublimate this present hate by abolishing everything except direct human relations and so establishing universal tolerance.

WILLIAM BLAKE.

Yeats Collection

LAST POEMS AND PLAYS, *by William Butler Yeats. The Macmillan Co. $1.75.*

THIS is very much a book of summary and epilogue for William Butler Yeats. It seems almost as though he were himself reviewing his long Odyssey in quest of a stable domain of poetry, a lake isle of tranquillity for the shipwrecked modern mind. This effort has given him a restless variability in the past. And even these poems of old age are filled with a choleric self-recrimination and discontent as though he would live another life of continuous assimilation.

"What can I but enumerate old themes?" Yeats asks, and proceeds to list and judge, concluding in the hard, realistic tongue he has now learned:

> Those masterful images because complete
> Grew in pure mind but out of what began?
> A mound of refuse or the sweepings of a street,
> Old kettles, old bottles, and a broken can,
> Old iron, old bones, old rags, that raving slut
> Who keeps the till. Now that my ladder's gone
> I must lie down where all the ladders start
> In the foul rag and bone shop of the heart.

It is difficult, reading this deliberately anti-romantic verse, to realize that Yeats' beginnings were in the Victorian eighties when he published "The Wanderings of Ossian" and "The Wind among the Reeds." The languorous rhythms of these poems, the remoteness of imagery, the search for "forgotten beauty," are all, except for the Celtic themes, typical of symbolism. In 1904 or thereabouts he writes a poem, "Adam's Curse," in which there lights the first signal of what is not quite self-criticism but is at any rate a feeling of insecurity even in his excellences, which has given mobility to Yeats' development. The dim metaphors of earth and water fail—"We'd grown as weary-hearted as that hollow moon."

Alongside this desire for an escape into some "safe" region of emotion, so familiar in modern poetry, arises the influence of political history on Yeats' work. This operates dialectically, as a realistic control and as a source of deflection from contemporary problems. The retreat into a legendary Celtic past is an evasion of the complex bourgeois world, although it is also a political assertion. It is not easy to estimate the way in which the Irish literary movement that Yeats led was an expression of the revolutionary activity it paralleled or to explain those curious rancorous controversies between the political and literary sides of the movement that culminated in the outburst against Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*. There was certainly something valuable and sincere in the effort of Yeats, Synge, and Lady Gregory to root themselves in the forgotten and submerged folk material of the oppressed Irish peasantry. As he says in this last poetic statement, which we now read:

> All that we did, all that we said or sang,
> Must come from contact with the soil, from that
> Contact everything Antæus-like grew strong.

This posthumous volume contains a surprising number of poems that show the emergence of the memories of Yeats the public man, the nationalist, into the consciousness of the poet and prove that he was feeling the effect of politics in a new way. Fresh from the symbolist atelier of Mallarme, he would have termed these modest ballads on the civil war "curiosities" or "impurities." Speaking from behind the pages of his later plays and verse he would have upheld the necessity for a certain abstract and, in the traditional meaning of the word, "poetic," withdrawal from the immediate creative stimulus. It is interesting to observe that in none of the twenty-one plays in his *Collected Plays,* and only in the later poetry, are there any direct references to events in which we know Yeats to have been keenly interested. But one of these "last plays" deals, it seems half-heartedly, with the old theme of Cuchulain, the legendary Irish Siegfried. The play has neither the atmospheric power of the plays of the middle period nor the symbolic evocation of patriotism of an early sketch like "Cathleen ni Houlihan." But it ends very significantly with lines that finally connect the two halves of Yeats' emotion as an Irishman:

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Are those things that men adore and loathe
Their sole reality?
What stood in the Post Office
With Pearse and Connally?
What comes out of the mountain
Where men first shed their blood?
Who thought Cuchulain till it seemed
He stood where they had stood.

With the publication in 1910 of *The Green Helmet and Other Poems* Yeats' real technical mastery begins—the poems that were to be by 1919 "maybe as cold and passionate as the dawn." This is principally due to the increased impact of politics and the growth of a concomitant sense of strain against the shimmering fairy world which was once a symbol for the imagination that makes changelings of sensitive men.

With the fading of the Celtic fairyland from the poems, Yeats turns more and more to a substitutive formulation of his basic rejection of naturalism. As a young man he had attended seances. In 1926 we have a statement of credo—he seems to feel the need for a systematic bolstering of the ideas that remain to sustain his work—in "A Vision," the result of mediumistic experiments with his wife. It has often been remarked that there is something a trifle "fake" about Yeats' belief in magic. It seems to be at times a facade for more complicated ideas; the well known and striking metaphor of the phases of the moon under which he ranges famous men and women of history is too keen psychologically to have any real connection with the pseudo-science of astrology. In many of the modern poems he appears to be using his "alchemical" symbols as an emotional concentrate of larger ideas. As in the case of his use of Celtic mythology there is a duality in Yeats' handling of this private magic symbology. On one hand we have a poem like "The Second Coming": "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold/ Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world," in which the imagery illuminates the feeling of apocalypse that is reminiscent of Duerer. But the thrust of this personal tradition is more usually turned inward:

I need some mind that if the cannon sound
From every quarter of the world, can stay
Wound in mind's pondering
As mummies in the mummy-cloth are wound;

In "The Tower," from which I have just quoted, and "The Winding Stair" (1933), the tension and some of the poetic force begin to slacken, but the progress toward a certain colloquial realism of language continues. It is obvious that Yeats did not succeed in finding that external architecture of principles which would have enabled him to dispense with his "Tower" symbols.

We are closed in, and the key is turned
On our uncertainty; somewhere
A man is killed or a house burned;
Yet no clear fact to be discerned. . . .

He relies on a background of personal experience—his friends, the traditions of his landowning Protestant family, the history of

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the house he inhabits, his magnificent inner sensibility. He was occasionally able to write poems which acknowledge the existence of another and vaster territory of emotion, in which he says (as in the poem, "Easter, 1916"), "a terrible beauty is born." And Yeats' greatness resides precisely in this fact; he was perfectly aware of what he was doing, profoundly conscious of what he was shutting out, "Violence upon the roads, violence of horses."

And now, in this epitaph of a poet who had truly outgrown his youth, the judgment has become complete. These poems are not on the whole as rhythmically powerful as the rest of his work. They seem deliberately poorer of metaphor, shorn of metaphysics. The tone is again a new one—witty, matter of fact. These "Last Poems and Plays" have the air of speaking from somewhere beyond the end of Yeats' career in a supremacy of awareness and self-knowledge.

MILLICENT LANG.

Negro History

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA, *compiled by workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Project Administration in the State of Virginia. Hastings House. $2.50.*

THIS is a good piece of work, though it is marred occasionally by factual errors and a tendency toward "diplomatic" writing. An example of the former is inaccuracy in dates: one beneath an illustration pertaining to Nat Turner, another in regard to the founding of the American Colonization Society, and still another concerning the revolt aboard the slave ship *Lafayette*. More important is the writers' erroneous assertion that the Negroes landed at Jamestown in 1619 were the first to touch these shores. Aside from Leo Wiener's good evidence of the presence of Africans here years before Columbus, it is certain that Negroes were present in what are now Florida and South Carolina early in the sixteenth century.

Examples of diplomatic verbiage: Instead of recording, as was the fact, that Thomas Jefferson was the father of mulatto children, the book tells us that he found "companions" among the Negroes. And the reference to John Randolph's years of insanity and sadistic cruelty to his slaves as a passing "mood" is a choice bit of understatement. Also, after observing the cruelty inherent in slavery, the authors assure us that this is "the exception rather than the general rule."

Nevertheless, basically the work is sound. The chapters on religion, the underground railroad, the Civil War, and Reconstruction are particularly good. But it is the copious quotations from ex-slaves that make this book really invaluable for all students of Negro history and of American life. The verbatim statements are the most beautiful as well as the most precious portions of the work. These old Negro men and women speak in the delicious simplicity and imagery and earnestness that are inimitable qualities of their people's folk tales and spirituals.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Mathematical Rehash

MATHEMATICS AND THE IMAGINATION, *by Edward Kasner and James Newman. Simon & Schuster. $2.75.*

THIS book is almost as crass a piece of commercialism as Mortimer Adler's *How to Read a Book*. The authors, in the better portions of their work, have borrowed heavily from Whitehead's *Introduction to Mathematics,* Russell's *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy,* and Ball's *Mathematical Essays and Recreations*. Their popularization of these books (which are themselves popularizations) is attempted from an idealist position which makes their explanations vague, incomplete, and sometimes utterly ridiculous. They are fond of erroneous statements such as, "Mathematics is a creation of the mind, both mystic and pragmatic in appeal." This is downright falsehood. The title they have given to this book is grossly specious and nothing but misleading advertising. Without the title, for which I assume the publishers are responsible, it might be possible to consider this book for what it is—a rewrite which hints at what other books, equally easy to understand, discuss, plus some puzzles and mathematical diversions that are more abundantly presented in such works as Ball's and in DeMorgan's *Budget of Paradoxes,* to purchase which the casual reader would be better advised. There is one thing, however, highly meritorious about the Kasner-Newman book, i.e., the illustration. The authors have been at some pains to elicit a high degree of appositeness from the artist, Rufus Isaacs.

HENRY HART.

Sights & Sounds

"Rhythm on the River"

Bing Crosby and Mary Martin ghost songs for Basil Rathbone.

BING CROSBY pictures usually show how an aspiring young man becomes a successful crooner. This one has Bing as an aspiring young composer, who is a ghost for the famous writer of popular songs, Basil Rathbone. Mr. Rathbone's lyric writer drops dead, leaving the great man completely impoverished, and he hires Mary Martin to supply the words for Bing's music, each of them unknown to the other and sworn to secrecy.

Naturally murder (and ghosts) will out, but not before Bing and Mary have a sweet time trying to prove their originality to music publishers who insist their work sounds suspiciously like Mr. Rathbone's. It's an amusing idea, carried out in a generally amusing manner, with good performances by Mr. Rathbone, Charlie Grapewin (Grampa of *The*

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GOINGS ON

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Grapes) and Miss Martin, who is an appealing screen personality in tailormade lounging pajamas. Oscar Levant, in a minor role, turns out to be less amusing (in his acrid way) than he is on *Information Please.*

"DANCE, GIRL, DANCE"

Unless you enjoy watching Lucille Ball struggle with her crepe-de-chine gown in a blast of wind, there is not much else for you to enjoy in *Dance, Girl, Dance,* which is a combination musical-burlesque-melodrama-hearts-and-flowers film written by Tess Slesinger and her husband out of a story by Vicki Baum.

Miss Ball, a long-legged blonde, has a certain amount of talent, no doubt. She is "Tiger Lily" White, burlesque queen (does that sound like Gypsy Rose Lee to you?). Maureen O'Hara wants to be a Great Dancer (ballet), Louis Hayward (who turned in a fine performance in *My Son, My Son!)* manages to be drunk throughout the entire film and Maria Ouspenskaya, after dispensing her now stereotyped nostalgia for the distant past, is killed by a taxicab on Fifth Avenue. This happens early in the film, and sets the tone for the balance.

"I LOVE YOU AGAIN"

You will find *I Love You Again* a very amusing screwball picture, based on the ancient and time-tested comedy device of mistaken identity. In this case William Powell, the hero, mistakes his own identity. Conked on the head in his original avatar (gambler and crook), he has been living for some time as a reformer, anti-vice crusader, prohibitionist, Boy Scout troop leader, pottery manufacturer, and tightwad. When he is conked again, he returns to his original personality and the associations he has built during the years of amnesia are washed out of his consciousness.

The film finds Myrna Loy again the Powell stooge. I have never been able to see in Miss Loy anything more than a well drawn eyebrow, and Mr. Powell has come pretty close to stylizing his own and his screen personality into permanent crystallization. He has most of the fun, however, with some left over for a good comedian named Frank McHugh. You will enjoy yourself.

NEGRO THEATER

A benefit program to announce the launching of the Negro Playwrights Company will be held at the Golden Gate Ballroom, 640 Lenox Ave., on September 6. Paul Robeson will sing and Richard Wright will speak on "How Bigger Was Born." We strenuously urge you to be present. Tickets go for 65c, $1.10, and $1.65 and may be bought at the Workers Bookshop, 44th Street Bookfair, Harlem YMCA, etc.

The Negro Playwrights plan a Negro people's theater in Harlem of a permanent, non-profit nature, and will present Theodore Ward's *Big White Fog* as its opening attraction this fall.

ALVAH BESSIE.

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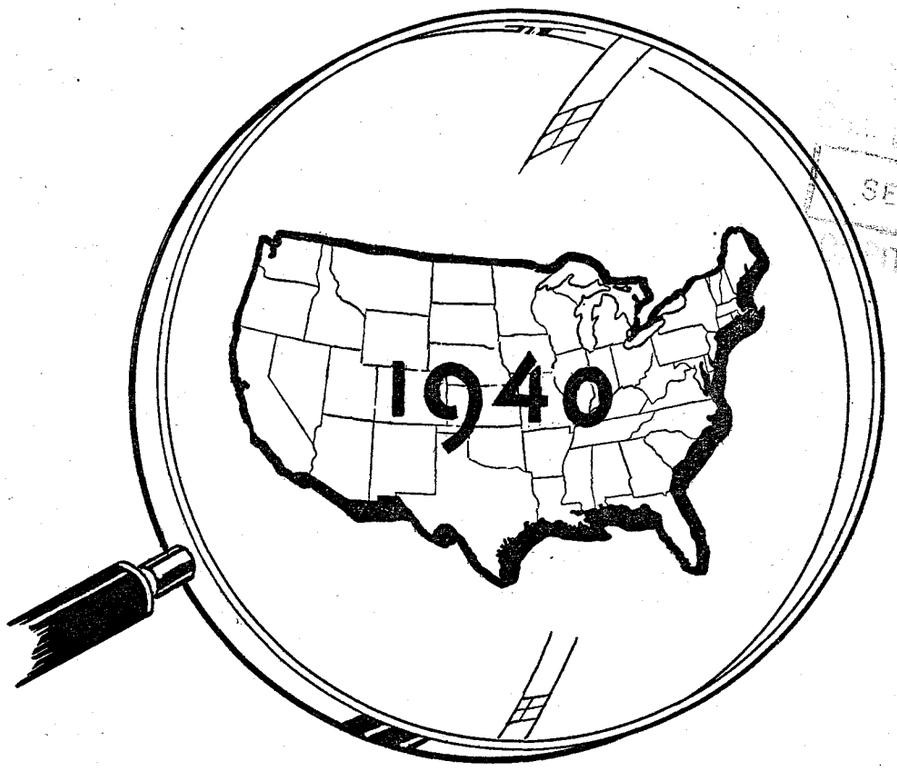

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WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE UNITED STATES?

WHAT you read in the newspapers, as Will Rogers used to say? Then your idea of the country is as accurate as it was to the geographers in the court of Isabella and Philip. From the press you would get the idea that 130,000,000 Americans are pleading to be conscripted into the army; that the same number want their fingerprints in J. Edgar Hoover's files; that the nation is respectfully requesting FDR to declare war tomorrow afternoon. But then there's that other old saying in this country, "Don't believe all you read in the papers." Most of us are guided by that maxim, but we do want to know the truth. We must know it, this tremendous year. For that reason NEW MASSES has assigned Joseph North to take a trip across the continent and back to depict the reality of America today—all that is not appearing in print elsewhere. How do Mr. and Mrs. America truly feel about peacetime conscription? About the war? About FDR and his rival? In short, what is the state of the nation? North has just given us pictures of Mexico and Cuba we couldn't get anywhere else in the nation's magazines. Now we want him to continue his dispatches from America. He will begin his cross country tour by covering the West Coast meetings of Earl Browder, Communist presidential nominee. We believe it is our duty to help break down the conspiracy against this party which is being denied its constitutional rights in many parts of the land. We believe if those rights are denied Communists, they will soon be denied to all other Americans. We expect the series by Joe North to be one of the most important public-spirited ventures NEW MASSES has undertaken this year. Be sure to subscribe this week so you can read them all—ten weeks for $1.

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